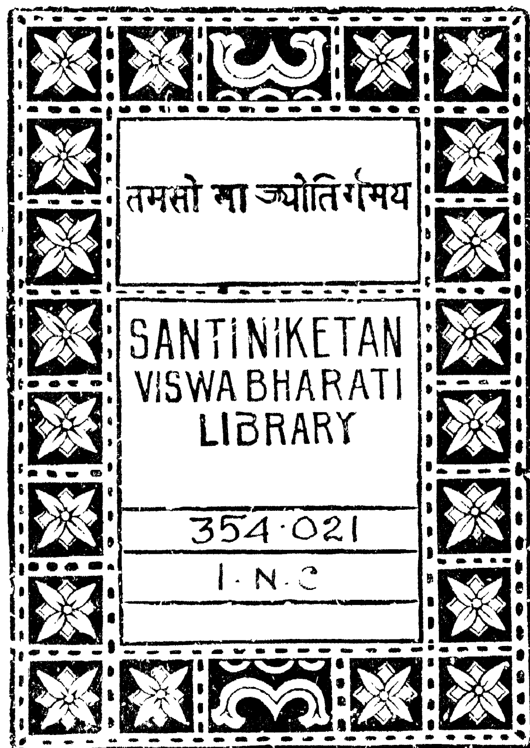


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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Report of the 44th Annual Session

HELD AT

LAJPAT RAI NAGAR

on December 25—31, 1929.

ALLAHABAD

Issued on behalf of the Reception Committee by Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, General Secretary.

FOREWORD

The Indian National Congress in its session at Calcutta in December 1928 decided to confer on Lahore the honour of being the ver[illegible] of the next Congress session. The honour was specially great in view of the Congress decision that if the demand for full Dominion Status was not conceded by the 31st December, 1929, the Congress would go in for full independence and nothing short of that. That momentous decision was to be taken at the session allotted to Lahore.

But if the honour was great so also was the responsibility. The last session that Lahore had witnessed had been held inside the Bradlaugh Hall—the Congress session having been the immediate stimulus for that Hall being built. Since then the Congress gatherings had expanded beyond the biggest hall that could be thought of; one could think only in terms of vast amphitheatres, and the arrangements for the delegates had also naturally expanded on the same scale. The historic Amritsar session in 1919 could be taken as marking off the new big session from the old-time ones, and during the decade past since the Amritsar session the Congress had been expanding rapidly.

What made us particularly nervous and different was the record in right royal arrangements set by the Calcutta session. If the extravagant splendour of that se[illegible]on was to be imitated it was certainly a mista[illegible] invited the Congress to hold its [illegible] utmost that we could think o[illegible]ces—within even extravagant es[illegible]tes of our resources—would be pale beside the Calcutta session. Ours is a small town compared with the second largest city of the British Empire. We cannot boast of innumerable magnates of commerce and industry, and very few amongst the handful that we have would be of much help in the Congress session. In Calcutta they could much help in the Municipal Corporation; we in Lahore had to deal with a Municipal Committee with an utterly different outlook and attitude towards us. (The Municipality almost refused to take notice of us, and we could not even have the loan of a road-roller from it!)

Yet perhaps there was no reason to go in for splendour and extravagance. The Congress claims to represent the poor masses of India and that claim goes better with humble simplicity. It was this thought that sustained us in our difficult but proud task. We would like to be judged by the standards appropriate to the National Congress of India's masses, and if our distinguished guests should think that the arrangements made for them were adequate by standards of simple convenience, and of business-like efficiency in the Congress work, cutting out all luxury and extravagance, the Reception Committee surely had reason to regard itself successful and to feel proud of it.

The site chosen for the 44th session of the Indian National Congress was singularly appropriate alike for its natural picturesqueness and for its associations. The vast park on the left bank of the Ravi was roomy enough for all possible requirements. It was connected by a main road with the town, and the railway line passed just outside the park. A good deal of felling of trees, and levelling, and road-making had to be done to make it suitable for the Congress session. But it was worth while. The site had been hallowed the previous year by the cremation of the greatest leader of modern Punjab whose loss we were still mourning and whose place still remains and perhaps will long remain unfilled. After him we named the Congress site "Lajpat Rai Nagar". His bust fixed in a central place in this Nagar was during the Congress days a place of pilgrimage, the shrine of the new city we had built.

The Pun[illegible] Government allowed us use of almost 85 acres of [illegible] One third of this area was reserved for the [illegible]ition. The negotiations with the Government took up far more time than we had anticipated and we could not start work of converting the forest into Lajpat Rai Nagar till the third week of September. Some idea of the construction work can be formed from the items enumerated below:—

Roads with a width of 40 to 50 feet making up a total length of 3 miles. Cinder was used on road surface throughout to avoid dust.

One Bazar in Indian style, 50 feet wide, with a row of 60 stalls on each side.

20 big lawns laid out for recreation.

Ten kitchens, 50×30 ft. each with different dining halls for different provinces, besides one big dining-hall 150×100 ft., to accommodate in all 1,200 diners at one time.

Three large gates and 4 small ones—all wood structure beautifully covered with khadi.

One circular reading-room with a diameter of 50 ft. erected in the Delegates' Camp.

Telegraph and post-offices and 12 booking-offices, all of wood and corrugated sheets.

Double-fly tents accommodating 5,000 delegates and 1,000 visitors. Separate tents were put up for leaders. All these were fitted with electricity. Charcoal and angithis were supplied free. Those who required electric heaters got them for a small charge.

For our water supply we installed two tube-wells, 5ft. diameter each, yielding about 1,800 gallons per hour. Both were fitted with centrifugal pumps and steam engines. One well was found enough, but as a precaution against accidents the second one had been installed too—though no occasion arose for making use of it. The four storage tanks could contain 16,000 gallons in all. The new-work of connections emanating from these effectively covered the entire area, and fed the large bath-room, latrines and urinals and the three hydrants set up to save the pandal in case a fire broke out, and the subsidiary tanks (like the kitchen tank). The large bathing hall was 125 feet in length and 20 in width and contained four rooms with 180 taps, besides 25 for ladies. Hot water of any desired temperature was available between 4 A.M. and 2 P.M. The hot well specially designed for the occasion consisted of a mild steel circular tank 4 feet in diameter and 8 feet in height and a 2-foot diameter steam-pipe connected it with the bath-room.

The latrines numbered 400—250 on the north side of the main pandal (some 80) ft. away from it, 125 towards the Volunteers' Camp and 25 in the ladies' compound. There were three rows of ditches dug about 3 ft. in depth, 135 ft. in length and 2 ft. in width. Meter gauge rails were a special movable type with pipe-rollers at the bottom. Thus batteries of latrines (each containing 3 latrines) were fitted at the start of each ditch which measured 135 ft. in length. The ditches were so arranged that the front of

latrines of one side was towards the back of the other. The latrine frames of iron were covered with hessian cloth. River sand and shovels were always kept available outside every latrine, and everyone who used the latrine was expected to make liberal use of sand. When the ditch looked filled up to 1 ft. the battery was pushed off by 45 feet. The exprfinent was an entire success. Mahatma Gandhi closely inspected the arrangment to detect foul smell or flies and was entirely satisfied with the arrangement.

The urinals made of masonary work and in both European and Indian style were kept quite sanitary by water and disinfectants kept dripping into the urinal drains day and night. They were as free from flies and stench as the latrines. A reservoir containing about 20 gallons of diluted disinfecting fluid was fitted at some height at one end of the set of urinals.

The National Flag under which the declaration of independence was made on the memorable night of December 31, was a structure deserving special mention. The flag was perched 115 ft. high from the ground. The flag post consisted of pipes with 6 ft. diameter at ground level gradually tapering to 4 ft. at the upper end. By a mechanical device a man could reach the pinnacle in one minute and come down again. He had only to sit in the wooden box and the pully block system did the rest. On the top the flag was fitted with tricolour electric light 15 in number, each of 200 candle power, besides one lamp of each colour of 2,000 candle power. The post was also of the tricolour scheme. It was a glorious sight at night.

In this report all the Hindustani speeches have been put together in Devnagari letters at the end.

GOPI CHAND BHARGAVA,

General Secretary of the Reception Committee.

APPENDIX I.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1929

Presented by the General Secretaries to the All India Congress Committee in accordance with Article XXIII of the Congress Constitution.

The principal resolution passed by the Calcutta Congress last year dealt with the All Parties Committee's Report. In this resolution the scheme for an Indian constitution drawn up by this Committee was approved and the Congress expressed its willingness to adopt it, subject to the British Parliament accepting it in its entirety on or before December 31, 1929. In the event of its non-acceptance by that date, or its earlier rejection, it was stated that the Congress would organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon. A further resolution laid down the constructive and organisational programme to be followed during the year. These resolutions have governed the activity of the Congress organisation during the year. It has been generally recognised that the next year would see a great national struggle and efforts have been made to prepare for it.

2. Another marked feature of the year has been the reaction of the Government to these resolutions, as well as to the general situation in the country and specially labour disputes. There has been an intensification of the policy of repression all over the country and Congressmen and labour leaders have been arrested and tried and convicted to long terms of imprisonment. Many important trials are still proceeding. House searches by the police have been of the most frequent occurrence and police charges on unarmed and peaceful processions and individuals, accompanied with the effective use of the baton, have taken place on several occasions.

3. Immediately after the Congress sessions in Calcutta the Working Committee appointed a number of sub-committees to give effect to the Congress programme. Committees were formed for the boycott

of foreign cloth, prohibition, removal of untouchability Congress organisation, volunteers, and the removal of disabilities of women. The last named sub-committee has apparently done no work and has submitted no report.

4. The Volunteer sub-committee made various recommendations, in particular recommending that the Hindustani Seva Dal be strengthened and should be fully utilized for training volunteers for national work.

5. The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and with Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram as its able and effective Secretary, has functioned throughout the year and carried on ceaseless activity in favour of the boycott. Mr. Jairamdas resigned his membership of the Bombay Council in order to devote himself wholly to the work of the boycott and fixed the headquarters of his committee in Bombay. The Committee developed direct contacts with provincial and district Congress committees and issued numerous pamphlets and leaflets. Early in the year numerous bonfires of foreign cloth took place. One of these in Calcutta resulted in the prosecution by Government of Gandhiji and some Bengal leaders. There was a conviction and a small fine.

6. Mr. Jairamdas' work was hampered to a considerable extent by the lack of regular reports from local Congress committees. The Office of the A. I. C. C. has itself to suffer from this reluctance to send reports. It is not sufficiently realised by local Committees that the basis of organisational work is regular and detailed reporting. In spite of this difficulty, however, the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee succeeded in a large measure. Many municipalities and merchants and large numbers of individuals were induced by it to join the boycott movement. The demand for Khadi has been so great that in spite of greatly increased production, it could not be wholly met.

7. The Prohibition Committee has been in charge of Syt. C. Rajagopalachar, who has made the subject of prohibition his very own and has brought his great abilities to bear on the furtherance of this campaign. Work was carried on largely in South India and in Gujerat and the results achieved have been considerable. The campaign has attracted international attention.

Mr. Rajagopalachar has become the Secretary of the Prohibition League of India and is editing their quarterly magazine "Prohibition."

8. The campaign for the removal of untouchability has been in charge of Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj who has worked strenuously in its behalf. Public opinion is everywhere being roused in favour of the removal of disabilities of the classes which have for long been suppressed. Many well known temples, which would not admit these classes, have now been thrown open to them. The Committee has also succeeded in opening out numerous wells and schools to these suppressed classes. Many municipalities are co operating in this work. The Secretary of the Committee, Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj, toured extensively in Madras, Central Provinces, Rajputana, Sind, Kashmir, Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province.

The effect of the propaganda for the removal of untouchability has been twofold. The so-called higher castes have been induced in some measure to give up the exclusiveness which they had for long jealously kept, and the suppressed classes have become self-conscious and assertive of their rights. In some places, where the demand from the latter for a removal of their disabilities has not met with an adequate response, friction has arisen and "Satyagraha" or some kind of passive resistance has been threatened. The tension that prevailed for some time during the year has eased a little now. It is clear that untouchability and other social disabilities which certain classes have suffered from are doomed and cannot last much longer.

9. The Committee for Congress re-organisation submitted its report early in the year. In view of the action contemplated next year great importance was attached to the question of organisation and the subject was fully considered by the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. The Working Committee directed an audit and inspection of all the Provincial Committees. This has been carried out in the case of nearly all the P. C. Cs.

10. The A. I. C. C. at its meeting held in Bombay in May last, called upon Provincial Committees to respond to the campaign of repression which the British Government was carrying on all over the

country by re-organising the provinces and enrolling at least one quarter per cent of the total population as original members by August 31. At this meeting the A. I. C. C. also drew up a number of rules to enable disciplinary action to be taken against committees or individuals who deliberately act against the declared policy of the Congress.

11. Strenuous efforts were made by the provinces to fulfil the quotas of membership allotted to them under the A. I. C. C. resolution but many P. C. Cs. did not succeed. The success attained however was notable. Many provinces had to contend against extraordinary difficulties—famine conditions, unprecedented floods and epidemics—apart from the repressive measures of the Government. In view of these difficulties the A. I. C. C. waived the penalty for non-fulfilment of the quota.

12. The membership figures for the different provinces with their quotas are given below:

	Province	Quota	Members enrolled
1.	Ajmer	1,120	14,594
2.	Andhra	35,923	29,685
3.	Assam	8,337	———
4.	Behar	72,558	90,525
5.	Bengal	1,24,413	93.385
6.	Berar	7,688	7,688
7.	Burma	2.000	1,904
8.	C. P. Hindustani	20,505	28,827
9.	C. P. Marathi	6,586	11,651
10.	Bombay	17,000	12,689
11.	Delhi	6,954	6,071
12.	Gujerat	7,396	17,807
13.	Karnatak	13,654	13 092
14.	Kerala	7,747	3,380
15.	Maharashtra	21,542	26,499
16.	N. W. F. P.	2,000	2,000
17.	Punjab	51,718	29,122
18.	Sind	8,200	2,615
19.	Tamil Nad	51,784	36,087
20.	United Provinces	1,06,529	75,710
21.	Utkal	12,421	6,945
		5,86,105	5,10,276

13. It will be noticed that Assam has supplied no figures of membership. It is doubtful if any proper Congress organisation functions there. In Kerala also, according to the audit and inspection reports, there is very little of organised work. Sind is backward. Berar and the N.-W. F. P., although they claim to have fulfilled their quotas, have sent no detailed figures. The inspection reports of Berar and C. P. Marathi show that the work done there is not satisfactory, but in the latter province a very satisfactory number of members have been enrolled.

14. Every effort was made by the A. I. C. C. Office to get regular and detailed reports from provinces. These efforts were often misunderstood and criticisms were resented. It is clear, however, that a great and country-wide organisation like the National Congress can only function effectively if it has a strong and alert Central Office in intimate touch with the provinces. There is always a tendency in a great country like India for the central authority to weaken and this must inevitably result in the weakening of our national movement. The disciplinary rules of the A. I. C.C. helped in tightening the reins and the Congress organisation today is, in consequence, stronger. But much remains to be done in this respect. Several members of the Working Committee even have not the time or inclination to attend its meetings, although such meetings should have precedence over everything. It would be desirable if members of any Congress Committee who do not attend some of its meetings should be considered to have automatically resigned from it. It is also highly desirable that members of Congress executive bodies do not criticise in public the decisions of such bodies so long as they remain members. No convention of corporate responsibility can arise if each member is a law unto himself.

15. The disinclination of P. C. Cs. to send reports may be judged from the fact that many of them have not even sent their annual reports. The provinces that have sent this report are: Andhra, Behar, Bengal, Gujerat, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, United Provinces, and Tamil Nadu. Thus the following nine provinces have not sent their annual reports: Ajmer, Assam, Berar,

Burma, C. P. Hindustani, C. P. Marathi, Delhi, Sind and Utkal. Ajmer may be excluded from this list as there have been election troubles throughout the year. It should be added that various interim reports have been received from all these provinces, except Assam which has not sent any kind of report during the year. Reference is here being made only to the annual report.

16. Reports have also been received from some of of our affiliated committees. The membership figures given in these are as follows:

London Branch	....	....	125
New York Branch	....	....	350
Kobe (Japan) Branch	....	....	51
Goa Branch	....	....	386

The Kabul committee has long ceased to exist. In South Africa the various separate affiliations have now been consolidated into one—that of the South African Indian Congress. No report has so far been received from it.

17. A beginning was made this year to realise contributions from provinces under Article IX of the constitution. The amount was left to the provinces. There was some delay in paying even the amount of their own choice but ultimately all provinces, except Ajmer where there were election troubles, paid up. Some of the major provinces paid very small sums. The following payments were made:

1.	Andhra	....	....	Rs.	500
2.	Assam	....	....	,,	30
3.	Behar	....	....	,,	250
4.	Bengal	....	....	,,	500
5.	Berar	....	....	,,	50
6.	Burma	....	....	,,	200
7.	C. P. Hindustani	....	....	,,	100
8.	C. P. Marathi	....	....	,,	25
9.	City of Bombay	....	....	,,	1,000
10.	Delhi	....	....	,,	50
11.	Gujerat	....	....	,,	500
12.	Karnatak	....	....	,,	100
13.	Kerala	....	....	,,	25
14.	Maharashtra	....	....	,,	50
15.	N.-W. F. Province		....	,,	50
16.	Punjab	....	....	,,	100

17.	Sind	—	—	„ 50
18.	Tamil Nad	—	—	„ 100
19.	United Provinces	—	—	„ 300
20.	Utkal	—	—	„ 105

18. The following affiliation fees were received from committees abroad:

London Branch	—	—	Rs. 100
New York Branch	—	—	„ 100
Kobe Branch	—	—	„ 100
Goa Branch	—	—	„ 25

The South Africa Indian Congress has not yet sent its affiliation fee.

19. Early in the year the Working Committee recommended the observance throughout the country of special programmes on Sundays. Sunday, March 10, was to be observed as Swaraj Day and subsequent Sundays were to be devoted specially to the boycott of foreign cloth, prohibition and physical culture. March 10 was celebrated throughout the country and for many weeks the Sunday programmes were observed.

20. It has been stated earlier in this report that the increased political and labour activity in the country resulted in widespread repression on the part of the Government. Syt. B. Sambamurti, a member of the Working Committee, was arrested early in the year and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. A very large number of Congressmen and labour leaders have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in the course of the year. Punjab and Bengal have specially suffered in this respect.

21. On March 20 there were wholesale arrests in Bengal, Bombay, Punjab and the United Provinces under Sec. 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and hundreds of houses were searched. Those arrested included eight members of the All India Congress Committee. All the arrested persons were brought to Meerut where their trial began in what has come to be known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. This case has attracted widespread attention not only in India but in foreign countries. A central defence committee, chiefly consisting of prominent Congressmen, was formed to help the accused. The Working Committee, contrary to its usual practice, made a

grant of Rs. 1,500 towards the defence. The preliminary enquiry in the case dragged on for many months and was concluded a few days ago.

22. Another case, which has attracted considerable attention in India, is the Lahore Conspiracy Case in which a large number of young men are being tried on various charges. Owing to the bad treatment given to the accused, the undertrial prisoners went on hunger-strike in protest. Many political prisoners in other jails in the Punjab and the United Provinces went on sympathetic hunger-strikes. The hunger-strikes went on for an extraordinarily long period, forcible feeding being resorted to. Syts. Bhagat Singh and Dutt, who started the hunger-strike in Lahore, continued it for thirteen weeks. One of their fellow-prisoners, Jatindra Nath Das, succumbed on September 13 on the 64th day of his hunger-strike. His death also, although long expected, came as a great shock to the country. No event for many years past had touched the people so much, and all over the country vast demonstrations were held. Soon after, on September 19, another political prisoner, the Rev. Wizaya, died in a Burma jail after the amazing period of 164 days of hunger-strike.

23. These deaths concentrated the country's attention on the treatment of political prisoners. The Government, which was contemplating special legislation against hunger-strikers had to give this up and promises were held out of better treatment. On the strength of these promises the A. I. C. C requested the remaining hunger-strikers to give up the strike and this request was acceded to. The Government has however not fulfilled its promises yet.

24. Another group case is at present going on in Calcutta in which Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose, a member of the Working Committee, and several other prominent Congressmen are being tried.

Arrests of Indians for political reasons have also been reported from Shanghai and the Malay States.

25. Apart from numerous trials and convictions of political and labour workers, methods of repression have been used by the police which were

described by the A. I. C. C. as "barbarous." On one occasion seven young men collecting funds for the defence of the Lahore under-trial prisoners were beaten by the police, in the presence of the District Magistrate, till some of them were senseless and all had received severe injuries. Their offence was their crying "Down with Imperialism" and "Long Live Revolution." Even more barbarous treatment was resorted to in Lahore in the case of the under-trial prisoners in the Conspiracy case. They were beaten in open court in the presence of the trying magistrate and, it was stated, that they were ill-treated in a variety of ways outside the Court house.

26. Apart from the recent trials and convictions it should be remembered that there is a large number of long term political prisoners in various jails in India and the Andaman Islands. These include detenus under Regulation III of 1818 and Martial Law prisoners who were sentenced by special tribunals during the Martial Law regime in the Punjab ten years ago in 1919. Besides these there are twenty-seven political prisoners in jails who were sentenced to transportation for life in 1914-15 during war time. They were tried and sentenced by special commissions and not by the ordinary law courts. They have now been in prison for 15 years.

27. Labour troubles and strikes have continued during the year and have come to a head. There was another general strike in the Bombay textile mills involving 1,50,000 workers. The strike demonstrated that Indian labour was developing a new militant and class-conscious outlook. The strike was a great success to begin with and showed that there was considerable organising ability behind it. But after six months or more it failed. Another general strike took place in the Jute areas in Bengal involving about 2,50,000 workers. The Jute workers were badly organised but they succeeded. Sporadic strikes however continued and partly undid the work of the general strike.

28. Another strike which has attracted widespread attention and sympathy has been the strike

of the Tinplate workers in Golmuri near Jamshedpur. This strike involved 3,000 workers mostly skilled, and it has continued for eight and a half months now. The demands of the strikers were very moderate but the employers and the Behar Government have persistently refused even an enquiry. The Legislative Assembly censured the attitude of Government and passed a resolution for the withdrawal of the protection given to the Tinplate industry. But, as often happens with the resolutions of the Assembly, this resolution also has been ignored by Government. No enquiry even has yet taken place and the strike continues. Sympathetic strikes have taken place in Budge Budge and elsewhere.

29. The South Indian Railway strike of 1928 was followed by the arrest and trial for Conspiracy of many persons. The Judge of Trichinopoly sentenced fifteen of these to ten years' rigorous imprisonment in April last. Appeals from these convictions have been filed.

30. During the year the Trades Disputes Bill was passed by the Assembly in spite of strenuous opposition from labour. The Public Safety Bill met a sudden check when the President of the Assembly ruled that it could not be proceeded with so long as the Meerut trial was going on. This objection was easily overcome by the Viceroy issuing the bill in the form of an Ordinance by executive decree.

The Bombay Government has recently passed a Goonda Bill ostensibly aimed at the lawless elements in the community, but in the opinion of labour and others, really aimed at the labour movement.

31. The Royal Commission on Labour presided over by Mr. Whitley has been received with mixed feelings by Indian Labour. Some trade unions declared in favour of boycott, others were for co-operation. The All India Trade Union Congress which met recently declared by a majority in favour of a boycott of the commission. This has resulted in a split in the ranks of labour and some unions have seceded from the All India T. U. C.

32. Proscriptions of books, said to be seditious, by Government has been a marked feature of the year.

Special attention was drawn to the proscription of Syt. Sunderlal's "History of British Rule in India" a book in Hindi, embodying several years of research. Dr. J. T. Sunderland's "India in Bondage" was also proscribed. Even before the proscription however Syt. Ramananda Chatterji, the editor of the "Modern Review" and the publisher of the book, was tried for sedition in publishing the book and sentenced to pay a heavy fine. A large number of eminent writers and publice men in the United States of America protested vigorously against this suppression of books which proved unpalatable to the British Government.

33. Passport facilities have again been denied this year to persons desiring to attend the Lahore Congress. Mr. S. J. Saklatvala was elected the delegate of the London branch of the Congress and Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose, of the New York branch. Both have been refused visas.

34. Election disputes have absorbed a great deal of time and energy during the year. Soon after the Calcutta Congress the Working Committee superseded the Ajmer P. C. C. on account of a number of grave irregularities. Fresh elections were ordered under the supervision of the nominees of the President. These elections were delayed and ultimately took place in October. The Working Committee however had to set aside these elections also on account of false personation and other practices which, in the opinion of the committee, were corrupt. New elections were ordered and these have just taken place.

A major election dispute has also arisen in Bengal, in which both the P. C. C. and some District Committees are involved. The matter was referred to the President, A. I. C. C. for decision. He has been unable to give a final decision but he has issued an interim order staying the election of the new A. I. C. C. members from Bengal and recommending to the Working Committee that the old A. I. C. C. members from Bengal should function till the final decision in January.

35. The A. I. C. C. met four times during the year and the Working Committee nine times. If the increased number of meetings is a test then there was greater activity this year than for many years past. One of the meetings of the A. I. C. C. however had to

be convened for a special and unprecedented reason. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who had been elected the President of the next Congress by a majority of provinces, expressed his inability to accept the office and the A. I. C. C. had to meet to choose another.

Two of the members of our Working Committee have been absent in foreign countries for the greater part of the year. Srimati Sarojini Naidu returned from America after a very successful tour in July. In November she went to East Africa to preside over the East African Indian Congress. One of our treasurers, Syt. Shivaprasad Gupta, has been in Europe for many months.

36. Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta attended the second World Congress of the League against Imperialism at Frankfurt in July last on behalf of the National Congress. His report of the Congress was placed before the Working Committee.

37. In May last it was announced that the Government had extended indefinitely the life of the existing legislatures in the country. This raised the council controversy again. Previous to this announcement the Tamil Nad P. C. C. had put forward a proposal in favour of the acceptance of ministerships. In view of strong opposition, however, this proposal was withdrawn. The Working Committee recommended, in veiw of the extension of the life of the legislatures that Congress members should abstain from attending councils till the committee decided otherwise. The Committee later referred the matter to the A. I. C. C. and recommended resignation from councils. The A. I. C. C. meeting in Allahabad in July approved of this recommendation but decided that the question of withdrawal from the legislatures do stand over till the Lahore Congress.

38. An important resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed in Bombay in May dealt with social and economic changes. It stated that in order to remove the poverty and misery of the Indian masses it was necessary not only to put an end to foreign exploitation but also to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities.

39. Immediately after the Calcutta Congress the

Working Committee made a grant of £30 per month for the establishment of a Students' Information Bureau in Berlin. This Bureau was opened soon after under the supervision of Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar and it has fully justified itself by the help it has given to numerous Indian students and visitors. Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta inspected it during his European tour and he wrote in terms of high appreciation of its work. On his recommendation the Working Committee increased the grant by £2 per month for a reading room. The Bureau is run efficiently and sends full reports and accounts monthly. Its success is largely due to the honorary services of Mr. Nambiar.

40. The Calcutta Congress directed the A.I.C.C. to open a foreign department and the Working Committee authorised the working Secretary to take the necessary steps in this behalf. The secretary has been in personal charge of the foreign work of the A. I. C. C. and has endeavoured to develop contacts with organisations and individuals in other countries. This is not particularly easy as numerous difficulties are placed in the way of foreign correspondence by the Government censorship.

41. The Calcutta Congress also directed the Working Committee to take steps to summon a meeting of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930 in India. The Committee called upon Mr. S. Satyamurti and the Secretary to take the necessary steps and to report. In this report it was pointed out that if the meeting was to be held in 1930 it should take place at the time of the Congress in December 1930. Further various difficulties in the way of holding such a Pan-Asiatic Conference were pointed out.

42. The Rev. Ottama represented the Indian National Congress at the State funeral of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in Nanking in May last. His report of this function was published in the press.

43. Indians abroad settled in British colonies or dependencies, have had to face numerous difficulties. In Fiji the motion of the Indian members of the Council to have a common franchise was not accepted. Thereupon these Indian members resigned from the Council.

In East Africa there is a continuing crisis and no solution has yet been found. Indians there have taken

their stand on a common franchise and on settlement on land being on terms of absolute equality. An Indian deputation from East Africa, led by Mr. J. B. Pandya, came to India in September and visited a number of important centres. The A. I. C. C. meeting at Lucknow on September 28 had the advantage of hearing Mr. Pandya and it congratulated the deputation on the sound national stand it had taken.

44. In compliance with the decision of the A. I. C. C. a Labour Research Department was opened, as a branch of the A. I. C. C. office, and Mr. Bakar Ali Mirza was put in charge of it. The department has established contacts with various national and international labour organisations, including the International Labour Office, Geneva; the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam; the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam; the Research and Information Department of the I. L. P. London; the Fabian Society, London; and International Co-operative Alliance, London. Valuable publications are being received from these organisations.

Mr. Mirza has visited the industrial areas in Bombay, Jamshedpur and Calcutta. He has prepared a monograph on Jute. During the general strike in the Jute areas he went to study the situation on the spot but he became involved himself in the local troubles and this has led to his absence from headquarters for a considerable period.

45. The A. I. C. C. in Bombay in May last called upon the Working Committee to take steps to have a Congress Manual prepared embodying authoritative chapters on the various political, administrative, economic and cultural problems comprised by the Swaraj movement. The Working Committee authorised Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to take steps to have such a Manual prepared. It is not known if any progress has been made in this work.

46. The Hindustani Seva Dal have carried on their work of training volunteers in various parts of the country. Most of this work has been done in the Karnataka province where the head office of the Dal and their Academy of Physical Culture are situated. But many camps have been held in other parts of the

country and the demand for trainers has been greater than the supply. The Dal has helped greatly in enrolling members for the Congress and in the boycott of foreign cloth. They are now fully co-operating in organising an efficient volunteer corps for the Lahore Congress.

47. The Hindustani Seva Dal have succeeded beyond expectation in organising a national flag day every month. At Calcutta last year they decided that the national flag be hoisted all over the country at 8 A.M., on the last Sunday of every month. This monthly flag unfurling is becoming very popular. The national flag is being more and more displayed on public buildings and many municipalities have had it unfurled with solemn ceremony.

48. The All India Spinners' Association has made marked progress in the production and sale of Khadi, but even so they have not been able to keep pace with the increased demand for it. Production has gone up by 32% and sales by 50%. In Rajasthan production increased by 100%; in Punjab by 66%; and in the U. P. and Bengal by over 50%. The actual figures for production are;

For 1927-28—Rs. 24,16,382:

For 1928-29—Rs. 31.88,000.

Sales in 1927-28—Rs. 33,08,634; in 1928-29—Rs. 49, 84,170. These figures for sales involve some duplication. After allowing for this the net sale in 1928-29 amounts to Rs. 39,45,713.

There are at present 364 Khadi depots, of these 155 are production centres and 209 sale depots. The A. I. S. A. owns and runs 176 depots: the others are in charge of aided and independent organisations.

49. Although the work of the A. I. S. A. is expanding rapidly, it is not increasing as rapidly as its Council and members would desire it to. The difficulty of funds has been, for the moment, got over as Mr. Gandhi's very successful tours in Andhra, Burma and U. P. have resulted in substantial collections. A greater difficulty is the lack of trained and efficient workers.

50. The Working Committee has written off a large number of old outstandings. The only ones that remain are the following:—

Tamil Nad P. C. C.	—	—	3,335	4	10
Punjab, P. C. C.	—	—	1,500	0	0
Mr. T. Prakasam	—	—	500	0	0
Mr. K. M. Panikkar	—	—	249	1	11

There is also a large sum which has long been due from Mr .Badrul Hassan and the Hyderabad (Deccan) Congress Committee. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya still holds the balance of the Punjab Relief Funds which must now amount to about Rs. 50,000.

51. The voluntary income-tax which was imposed on Congressmen by a resolution of the Calcutta Congress has not been a success. Some contributions have been received in the A. I. C. C. office and some have been paid to provincial and local committees. On the whole however only a small percentage of Congressmen have paid it.

52. The last Congress added a paragraph to article XXIII of the Constitution laying down that there should be a permanent fund of the Congress. No steps have however been taken so far to start this fund. Nor has any decision been arrived at regarding the permanent location of the A. I. C. C. office

53. On October 31 a statement was made by the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, suggesting a conference between representatives of the Indian people, the Indian States and the British Government, to consider the future Constitution of India. A meeting of prominent Congressmen and leaders of other political parties held in Delhi on November 1 and 2 issued a manifesto in which they expressed their willingness to co-operate but stated that certain conditions were vital and must be fulfilled. There were four conditions mentioned: the discussion at the conference must be on the basis of full Dominion Status for India, there should be a predominant representation of Congressmen, a general amnesty of political prisoners, and an immediate change in the manner of carrying on the existing Government so as to approximate it to a Dominion Government. The Working Committee subsequently confirmed this action taken by Congressmen at Delhi but made it clear that this confirmation was till the Lahore Congress only.

54. The Secretaries regret to record the deaths during the year of Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, who

was for some years the working General Secretary of the Congress; Prof. S. M. Paranjpe, an ex-president of the Maharashtra P. C. C., and Syt. M. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu, a member of the A. I. C. C. from Madras.

ALLAHABAD
December 23, 1929.

M. A. ANSARI
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
General Secretaries.

APPENDIX II.

ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND: HON. TREASURER'S OFFICE, BOMBAY

Balance Sheet as at September 30, 1929.

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
GENERAL FUND :—						
Balance as per last Account ...	69,259	15	9			
Less excess of Expenditure over income for the year ...	16,898	15	11			
				52,360	15	10
EARMARKED FUNDS :—						
As per annexed statement				46,752	6	1
SUNDRY CREDITORS :—						
For Expenses ...				1,431	15	0
TOTAL ... Rs.				1,00,545	4	11

PROPERTY AND ASSETS

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
CONGRESS PAVILION :—						
As per last Account (at cost)				4,000	0	0
DEAD STOCK AND FURNITURE :—						
Balance as per last Account (at cost)	282	14	0			
Additions during the year (at General Secretary's Office)	570	11				
				853	9	3
LIBRARY :—						
At General Secretary's Office				65	12	0
LOANS :—						
Punjab Provincial Congress Committee **(Outstanding since 1927)**				1,500	0	0
ADVANCES :—						
To Political Sufferers' Sub-Committee (Outstanding since 1927)				2,500	0	0

INVESTMENTS :—				
Fixed deposits with Banks ...				61,734 1 6
CASH AND OTHER BALANCES :—				
In current accounts with Banks	29,885	7	10	
Cash on hand	6	6	4	
				29,891 14 2
TOTAL ... Rs.				1,00,545 4 11

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund: Treasurer's Office at Bombay and the Certified monthly returns from and the yearly Statement of Account of the General Secretary's Office, Allahabad, and find the same to be correct. We have also verified the Investments of the Fund.

(Sd.) DALAL & SHAH
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Hon. Auditors.

Bombay, December 19, 1929.

(Sd.) C. H. SHAH
Accountant

(Sd.) JAMNALAL BAJAJ
Hon. Working Treasurer.

ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND: HON. TREASURER'S OFFICE, BOMBAY.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year September 30, 1929.

EXPENDITURE.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
To Hon. Treasurer's Office Expenses		749 15 0
General Secretary's Office Expenses.—		
Adjusted for the previous year	451 15 6	
Incurred during this year as per audited statements ...	12,039 13 10	
		12,491 13 4
,, All Party Report Expenses ...		5,055 7 0
,, Grants paid during the year as per statement annexed ...		21,259 7 7
,, Expenses of the Working Committee Members ...		1,145 15 6
,, President's Expenses ...		92 12 0
,, Emigrants' Enquiry Committee Expenses ...		11 7 3
,, Amount written off ...		1,998 11 6
TOTAL Rs. ...		42,805 9 2

INCOME.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
By Tilak Swaraj Fund General		2,408 1 7
,, Interest received during the year	2,841 1 11	
Less refunded on old B P.C.C. Fund	455 1 4	
		2,386 0 7
,, Brokerage receipts		18 13 0
,, All India Congress Committee membership fees ...		4,662 0 0
,, Delegates' fees ...		2,909 8 0
,, Sale of All Party Reports ...		8,671 6 1
,, Sale of Congress publications ...		147 6 0
,, Contribution from the Provincial Congress Committees received as per statement annexed ...		3,835 0 0
,, Congress Income Tax ...		512 8 0
,, Affiliation fees ...		220 0 0
,, Miscellaneous receipts ...		135 14 0
,, Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year ...		16,898 15 11
TOTAL Rs. ...		42,805 9 2

Examined and found correct.

(Sd.) DALAL & SHAH
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Hon. Auditors.

Bombay Dec. 19, 1929.

(Sd.) C. H. SHAH
Accountant.

(Sd.) JAMNALAL BAJAJ
Hon Working Treasurer.

ALL INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND

.1 STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF EXPENSES :—

		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Treasurer's Office :				
Salary	...	600 0 0		
Printing & Stationery	...	40 0 0		
Miscellaneous	...	21 15 0		
Exchange	...	8 2 0		
Postage and Telegrams	...	23 12 0		
Travelling	...	56 2 0		
			749 15 0	
General Secretary's Office :—				
Salary	...	6,606 14 0		
Auditors' Fees	...	145 0 0		
Rent and Taxes	...	772 6 1		
Stationery & Printing	...	1,815 12 9		
Miscellaneous	...	372 12 9		
Postage and Telegrams	...	1,376 4 9		
Travelling	...	950 11 6	12,039 13 10	12,789 12 10

2. DETAILS OF GRANTS PAID DURING THE YEAR :—

Students' Information Bureau, Berlin, £240 in 8 instalments of £30 each	...	3,216 13 1	
Anti-Untouchability Sub-Committee: 6 instalments of Rs. 200 each	...	1,200 0 0	
*Prohibition Work, 6 instalments of Rs. 500 each		3,000 0 0	
League against Imperialism £100		1,342 10 6	
Meerut Defence Fund		1,500 0 0	
Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee		5,000 0 0	
Hindustani Seva Dal		1,000 0 0	
Assam Congress Reception Committee	...	5,000 0 0	21,259 7 7

*An account for Rs. 1280-4-9 has since been received from the Hon. Secretary.

3. DETAILS OF PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED :—

				Rs. a. p.
Bombay	1,000	Gujrat	500	
U.P.	300	Behar	250	
Tamil Nadu	100	Maharashtra	50	
Sind	50	Karnatak	100	
Kerala	25	N.W.F. Province	50	
Utkal	105	Berar	50	
Punjab	100	C.P. Hindustani	100	
Andhra	250	Delhi	50	
C.P. Marathi	25	Bengal	500	
Burma	200	Assam	30	3,835 0 0

4. DETAILS OF EARMARKED FUNDS :—

Khaddar Propaganda	...	1,001 0 0	
Akali Help	...	199 6 1	
Anti-Untouchability	...	10 0 0	
Bengal National Workers	...	10 7 0	
Swarajya Party Fund	...	14 12 0	
South African Fund	...	200 0 0	
Political Sufferers' Fund	...	3,838 0 0	
Civil Resisters	...	13,491 0 0	
Permanent Publicity Bureau	...	13,220 0 0	
Old B.P.C.C. Fund	...	9,581 0 0	
Interest on Old B.P.C.C. Fund	...	186 13 0	
All Parties Conference Fund	...	5,000 0 0	46,752 6 1

5. INVESTMENTS :—

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	...	10,036 1 6	
Bank of Baroda Ltd., Bombay	...	30,000 0 0	
Bank of India	...	21,698 0 0	
			61,734 1 6
In Current Accounts :—			
Central Bank of India Ltd., Bombay	...	12,872 15 9	
Bank of Baroda Ltd.	...	924 1 2	
Bank of India Ltd.	...	16,077 13 9	
Punjab National Bank Ltd.	...	0 13 10	
Shilotri Bank Ltd., (in Liquidation).	...	9 11 4	29,885 7 10

6. SUNDRY CREDITORS :—

General Secretary A.I.C.C.	...	1,031 15 0	
For Salary	...	400 0 0	1,431 15 0

December 19, 1929.

C. H. SHAH
Accountant

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Propaganda and Publicity in Foreign Countries account from October 1, 1928, to September 30, 1929.

RECEIPTS	Rs.	a.	p.	EXPENDITURE	Rs.	a.	p.
To balance as per previous account	1,741	14	9	Expenses incurred by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in connection with East African Deputation ...	20	2	0
Received from the A. I. C. C. Office in repayment of advance (including postage for one anna adjusted) ...	100	1	0	By balance	1,876	9	6
To interest	34	9	9				
To repayment of advance by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ...	20	2	0				
	1,896	11	6		1,896	11	6

Checked and found correct.

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant.

B. RAJA RAU
Under-Secretary.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
General Secretary.

R. K. TEWARI
Auditor.
11-11-1929

ALL INDIA CONGRESS

Statement of Receipts and Disbursement from October 1, 1928, to September 30,

RECEIPTS

		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1.	*Opening balance:*						
	(*a*) Cash in hand...	171	2	6			
	(*b*) Cash in bank less uncashed cheques	677	9	3			
	(*c*) With Bombay P. C. C.	52	10	6			
	(*d*) With Mr. Mahalinga Sarma at Madras including advance of Rs. 4	13	6	6			
	(*e*) Postage in hand	23	11	3	938	8	0
2.	*To advances accounted for:*						
	N. Raghavachari :..	20	0	0			
	Peon Ahmad Hussain	10	0	0			
	All Parties Conference account	230	4	6	260	4	6
3.	Loan from A. P. Conference Fund ...				1,170	6	0
4.	Treasurer A. I. C. C.	12,088	5	7			
	Less amount received from Bombay P.C.C. shown above excluding expenses ...	41	10	0	12,046	11	7
5.	Sale proceeds of Madras Congress Report (Secretary, Tamil Nadu P. C. C.) ...				43	14	6
6.	*A. P. Conference Account:*						
	Sale proceeds of Convention Report and Demand	10	1	0			
	Sale proceeds of Convention Supp. Report	12	14	9			
	Sale proceeds of Convention Report, Dominion Status and Indian States	1	14	0	24	13	9
7.	Commission on the sale proceeds of other books	...	...		64	6	7
8.	Allahabad City Congress Committee ...	...	...		32	0	0
9.	Allahabad District Congress Committee...	...	...		326	15	0
10.	Allahabad Youth League	...	...		60	0	0
11.	Membership fee from Ajmer excluding commission	...	...		1,779	13	0
12.	Interest	...	...		52	4	10
					16,800	1	9

NOTE.—*Items 8, 9 and 10.* The amounts shown to the credit of the Allahabad were received in the A. I. C. C. Office on their

Item No. 20. A portable typewriter has been purchased since the

Item No. 22. In previous years such expenses were paid by the mittee did not pay them and the A. I. C. C.

Item No. 24. The advance shown as outstanding against Raja have since been returned or accounted for.

K. B. RAMAKRISHNAIAH
Accountant.

B. RAJA RAU
Under-Secretary.

COMMITTEE

1929, in the Office of the All India Congress Committee, Allahabad.

EXPENDITURE

		Rs.	as.	p.	Rs.	as.	p.
13.	Salaries	6,606	14	0			
	Auditors' fees	145	0	0	6,751	14	0
14.	Rents and taxes...	...			772	6	1
15.	(a) Stationery and Printing ...	...			1,770	12	9
	(b) Remitted to Mr. Arjunlal Sethi, Ajmer, being printing charges of membership forms (to be adjusted)	...			45	0	0
16.	Miscellaneous	...			372	12	9
17.	Postage and Telegrams	...			1,376	4	9
18.	*Travelling Expenses:*						
	Office staff	817	5	6			
	General Secretary	133	6	0	950	11	6
19.	Library	...			65	12	0
20.	Furniture	...			570	11	3
21.	Deposit for trunk calls	...			10	0	0
22.	Calcutta Congress expenses	...			402	10	6
23.	Amount written off	...			8	4	0
24.	*Advances:*						
	B. Raja Rau	1,200	0	0			
	N. Raghavachari	25	0	0			
	R. C. Pande	5	0	0			
	Peon Jageshar...	13	0	0	1,243	0	0
25.	Syt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi for over-seas work	...			175	2	0
26.	*Research Department:*						
	Salaries and travelling expenses ...	796	10	0			
	Advances	110	0	0	906	10	0
27.	Incurred by Bombay P. C. C. in despatching Congress publications ...				11	0	6
28.	Repayment to Foreign Publicity Account (Loan received last year) ...				100	0	0
29.	*Closing balance:*						
	(a) Cash in hand	177	4	3			
	(b) Cash in Bank	1,044	5	11			
	(c) With Mr. Mahalinga at Madras	13	6	6			
	(d) Postage in hand...	32	1	0	1,267	1	8
					16,800	1	9

City Congress Committee, District Congress Committee and the Youth League
behalf and had not been paid out on the day the account for the year closed.
revised budget was sanctioned.
Reception Committee. On the last occasion, however, the Reception Com-
Office had to bear them.
Rau is being repaid in monthly instalments of Rs. 100. The remaining advances

Checked and found correct.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU — R. K. TEWARI

Auditor

General Secretary. — 11-11-1929.

LIST OF REALISATIONS

Made by the All India Congress Committee from 1-10-1928 to 30-9-1929.

	Rs.	a.	p
A. I. C. C. membership subscription..	4,672	0	0
Delegates' fees at Calcutta Congress	2,909	8	0
Contributions from P. C. C.s and affiliation fees	2,960	0	0
Percentage of Income	1,250	0	0
T. S. F. Donations	2,423	14	1
Interest	2,893	6	9
Sale proceeds of Congress publications	163	5	0
Miscellaneous...	200	4	7
TOTAL ...	17,472	6	5

LIST OF OUTSTANDINGS

Of the All India Congress Committee as on September 30, 1929.

(1) MONEYS DUE FROM INDIVIDUALS

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Hyderabad (Deccan) Congress Committee	5,288	2	0	Balance of Hyderabad Khaddar loan advanced by the Trustees, T. S. F., Bombay.
Mr. Badrul Hassan	27,911	14	0	
Mr. K. M. Panikkar	249	1	11	Balance of Akali Prisoners' Families Relief Fund.
Mr. T. Prakasam	500	0	0	Balance of loan advanced in December 1926.

(2) MONEYS DUE FROM COMMITTEES

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Punjab P. C. C. ... ...Rs.	1,500	0	0	Temporary loan advanced in 1927.
Tamil Nadu P. C. C.... ...	3,335	4	10	Balance of T. S. F. quota

(3) PUNJAB RELIEF FUND

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya...Rs.	45,842	0	0
TOTAL ...Rs.	84,626	6	9

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya promised in 1925 to transfer the fixed deposit receipts for Rs. 45,842 to the All India Congress Committee but the transfer has not been made yet.

The balances of the Punjab Relief Funds with the Seva Samiti, Allahabad, and with Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, Bombay, are not included in the foregoing statement.

JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU
General Secretary.

7-11-1929.

APPENDIX III.

44th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1929:

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Balance Sheet as on 30th Nov., 1931.

LIABILITIES.			ASSETS.		
Dr. Gopi Chand	8,000 0 0		Stock in hand	5,623 5 0	
Russa Engineering Co.	700 0 0		Sundry Debtors	954 7 6	
L. Karori Mal	469 0 0		Cash in hand	78 15 3	6,656 11 9
Shrimati G. D. Hospital	2,432 7 0		Deficit	8,618 8 6	8,618 8 6
A. I. S. A. Khaddar Bhandar	3,673 13 3	15,275 4 3			
	TOTAL Rs. ...	15,275 4 3		TOTAL Rs. ..	15,275 4 3

(Sd.) GOPI CHAND
General Secretary.

(Sd.) K. SANTANAM
Financial Secretary.

(Sd.) S. D. KITCHLEW
President.

(Sd.) P. N. S. AIYER & Co.
Auditors.

44TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1929: RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Income and Expenditure.

RECEIPTS.

SALE OF TICKETS.						
Reception Committee ...	45,667	0	0			
Visitors ...	44,775	8	0			
Subjects Committee ...	8,035	0	0			
Delegates ...	14,363	10	0			
Mess ...	1,289	14	9			
Exhibition ...	38,900	0	0			
Total ...				1,53,031	0	9
RENTS.						
Shops in Congress Bazar ...	3,607	14	0			
Accommodation ...	8,836	5	3			
				12,444	3	3

EXPENDITURE.

OFFICE & PROPAGANDA.									
Establishment ...				8,216	6	3			
Printing & Stationery ...				2,944	6	6			
Travelling Expenses ...				3,275	11	0			
Postage & Telegrams ...				804	0	6			
General Charges ...				423	1	3			
Rents & Taxes ...				1,948	4	6			
Bank Comm. & Interest ...				639	7	9			
Furniture ...				2,571	11	9			
							20,823	1	6
CONSTRUCTIONS:									
Clearance of Sites and Roads ...				3,040	7	6			
Construction of Buildings	24,538	15	9						
Less sale of articles ..	7.995	4	9						
				16,543	11	0			
Pandal Tent ...				11,842	3	0			
Water Works	21,035	10	3						
Less sale of articles ...	5,784	3	9						
				15,251	6				
Light ...				18,780	13				

RECEIPTS.		
OTHER INCOME.		
Donations ...	15,598 11 10	15,598 11 10
LOANS.		
From Dr. Gopi Chand ...	8,000 0 0	
Bills Payable ...	7,275 4 3	
		15,275 4 3
		1,96,349 4 1

EXPENDITURE.				
ACCOMMODATION.				
Rent of Tents ...	17,871 14 0			
Charpoys bought ...	6,994 2 0			
	24,866 0 0			
Less charpoys sold ...	2,679 14 0			
Less sale of articles ...	14 1 9			
	2,693 15 9	22,172 3		
EXHIBITION.	68,262 11 3			
Less sale ...	26,396 15 6			
		41,865 11 9		
			1,29,496 5 4	
OTHER EXPENSES.				
Entertainment ...		3,466 6 0		
Conveyance ...		1,466 2 9		
Kitchen ...	23,743 7 3			
Less sale of Provisions ...	9,193 10 3	14,549 13 0		
VOLUNTEERS.				
Uniforms ...	10,055 1 9			
Printing ...	275 5 0			
Camp expenses ...	5,947 6 3	16,277 13 0		

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.						
	1,96,349	4	1	Procession	131	10	6			
				Sanitation & Medical Department	2,358	4	3			
				Official Reporters	1 123	0	0	39,373	1	6
				ADVANCES						
				P.P C C.	254	4	6			
				To workers ...	700	3	0	954	7	6
				IN HAND.						
				Stock	5,623	5	0			
				Cash						
				(Pb. National Bank) ...	78	15	3	5,702	4	3
TOTAL ... Rs.	1,96,349	4	1	TOTAL				Rs. 1,96,349	4	1

(Sd.) GOPI CHAND
General Secretary.

(Sd.) S. D. KITCHLEW
President.

(Sd.) K. SANTANAM
Financial Secretary.

(Sd.) P. N. S. AIYER & CO.
Auditors.

The Indian National Congress met in the Congress Pandal at Lajpatrai Nagar (Lahore) on Sunday, the 29th December 1929, at 5 P. M. The President, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, was in the Chair.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of the *Vandemataram* song by lady volunteers, the audience standing. A band from Amritsar then played some national songs. Miss Kedar Nath Saihgal also sang a song from the rostrum.

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then delivered his address which reads as follows:

Dr. KITCHLEW'S ADDRESS

COMRADES,

On behalf of the Reception Committee I extend to you a most cordial welcome to this the 44th session of the Indian National Congress. The Working Committee under the able guidance of its indefatigable secretary, Dr. Gopi Chand, has worked day and night without giving rest to its members, and aided by the selfless devotion of a noble band of workers and volunteers, has been able to achieve all that you see in Lajpatrai Nagar. Their chief aim has been to pay greater attention to your comfort and convenience than to the mere spectacular side of the arrangements. The Committee had to work under great difficulties created by man and nature alike and I beg of you to accept these arrangements in a generous and brotherly spirit and to forgive us for our shortcomings.

Friends, we have come to the most critical stage of our National struggle, the struggle for India's freedom. It is necessary for us at the present juncture, therefore, to take stock of our position and analyse the forces that are working for and against us with a view to understand the real meaning of our struggle, and by putting our heads together to chalk out a proper programme for the attainment of our object.

The British came to our country as traders and merchants with the sole object of making money and getting rich as quickly as possible. They did not come

with the intention of conquering India. The conquest in fact came to them only as a matter of "accident." When the British adventurers first came in touch with our country they found its people rich and civilized far above any other country in the world. Our manufactures were well-known in Asia, Africa and Europe. Our cotton and silk goods, brocades, shawls, muslins and rugs could easily find a market in all countries. Our jewellery, pottery, metal works and lapidary work were looked upon with the eye of envy and were a source of great income to our country. Similarly our surplus grains, spices, and other products were eagerly awaited in many parts of the world. There was a unique taste and rare art exhibited in our Swadeshi products which made an irresistible appeal to the aesthetic sense of our customers and brought us profits in no small measure. The stories of the fabulous wealth of our country attracted the attention of the English adventurers and brought them to our shores. But this state of her civilization was not new to India finding its highest development under the Mughal Emperors. It had been in existence here for many thousands of years before the British came to India or the Mughals established their sway. "Powerful Empires," said the great Imperialist, Lord Curzon, at the Delhi Durbar of 1901, "existed and flourished here [in India] while Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods and while the British colonies were still a wilderness and a jungle. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, philosophy and religion of mankind, than any other terrestrial unit in the universe."

India at the time of the advent of the East India Company was one of the wealthiest countries in the world though politically in a decaying condition which affected only the Central Government. The political decay and downfall were brought about by a series of events in rapid succession. This gave a chance to the East India Company of English merchants who currying favour with this or that potentate and playing one against the other, were able to gain their success. Let it be said for the Englishmen—they came, they saw, they conquered. But let it be said to our utter shame that this conquest was brought about mainly with the

help of our men and money.

The East India Company busied itself in making its position politically secure and carried on a ruthless campaign of economic exploitation. By deceit, by treachery and by systematic terrorism, the wealth of India began to be exported. The great accumulation of Indian wealth in England gave a tremendous impetus to the industrialisation of that country. In the latter part of the eighteenth century England became at once a producer of goods and began to flood the world with British-made textile, metal and other articles. What happened in India? Well, the story is simple. England wanted markets for her cheap machine-made goods. And there could be no better or more paying market than India with her teeming millions of inhabitants, for the consumption of England's manufactures. Here the East India Company became all powerful, and its officers laid no pretension to scruples. The old historic and the most artistic industries of our country were mercilessly destroyed as it were at the point of the bayonet. India was forcibly reduced to a position of an exporter of raw materials and importer of cheap British goods. Believe me, friends, I am not writing fiction. The facts are borne out by many European and even some conscientious English writers, and the correspondence of the officers of the East India Company throws a flood of light on the most harrowing details of the misery, poverty and emasculation of the people of this country. No wonder there was discontent in the land, particularly among the labourers, workers and artisans in towns. The peasants were not yet sorely affected although they had begun to feel the pinch owing to the gradual loss of their cottage industry and export of their grain stuffs. Some of the feudal chiefs of India who were feeling keenly the loss of their prestige, wealth, and influence rose in revolt and seduced the Indian Army in support of their cause. This led to what is called by some "The First War of Independence" and by others, the "Sepoy Mutiny" of 1857. Let us not go into the heart-rending details of those events. Suffice it to say that India was made safe for British Imperialism for a long time to come. The Queen's proclamation promised much but

gave nothing, and India was reduced to the position of a Dependency.

Under the new dispensation England was in need of supporters and apart from the Indian princes who were brought under stringent control a new feudal bourgeoisie of landlords was created. To carry on the work of administration need was felt to educate Indians in English, hence schools and colleges were gradually opened with a view to find recruitment of low paid clerks and officers holding subordinate posts in Judicial and Executive departments. But care was taken to keep the strings of the bureaucracy in the hands of the most expensive and highly paid agency in the world. A new form of bourgeoisie of merchants was encouraged to spring up in India to work as agents on commission and brokerage, and assist the great capitalist concerns of England in their exploitation of the Indian masses; side by side with this there came into existence a petty bourgeoisie of small traders and other interests who became willing tools in the hands of British Imperialists. To further reduce the people of this land to a condition of abject slavery and helplessness we were deprived of the right of keeping arms, and a mercenary army was created to suppress and kill in us the spirit of resistance. The major portion of the Indian Budget was earmarked for the upkeep of the army maintained ostensibly for the defence of the country but really to fight in the interests of white Imperialism in Asia, Africa and even in Europe as in the last Great War. Only in the last Great War in Europe (1914-18) India contributed 14,01,880 men (official figures) and was compelled to pay the terrible sum of £100,000,000 announced as a 'gift' together with £100,000,000 paid in other ways under promises, threats and coercion.

Under the British Crown or, to be more exact, under the control of the India Office and the centralised bureaucratic administration in this country large-scale capitalist enterprise came into play in England, and with a network of railways and communications the exploitation of India became both extensive and intensive and the condition of the people became worse. After the Great War and with the rise of new conditions, British capital began to pour into this country for investment

on a permanent basis and English firms and companies for the first time in the history of British connection began to get themselves registered in India under assumed Indian names. All the great mills—cotton mills, jute mills, woollen mills and others, are mainly run to-day by foreign capital with a modicum of Indian money in some big cities. This is how India is getting rich! And this is how India's industries are being "nationalised" under the British Crown! As for the condition of the peasants who constitute 80 per cent. of the population, let me quote to you the authoritative words of a statesman. "If India must be bled," said Lord Salisbury, "the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least is sufficient, not to those [the argicultural people] which are already feeble for the want of it."

"India must be bled." It sounds so brutal, but it is an honest statement of facts. This is the keynote to all our troubles. India must be bled: hence British connection must be maintained and its people must remain hewers of wood and drawers of water to serve the interests of white Imperialism. Yes, India is bled—bled white, her surface wealth is gone. New resources are being tapped, and her latent and hidden treasures are exploited by the forces of Imperialism. India of to-day is the home of poor peasants and workers and labourers and the unemployed, that constitute more than 90 per cent. of its population, and what do they get under British domination? Poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, pestilence, disease, famine, starvation, death. The problem of our country, friends, is not religious or merely political. It is essentially economic. And we cannot bring about the economic salvation of our country without the sovereign control of its destinies in our hands.

Forty-four years ago, some of our countrymen met together and laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress. They were great men, great pioneers of national cause. But, governed by the circumstances of those days, they were, really speaking, working in the interests of their class—the intellectual and professional bourgeoisie of India. Year after year resolutions were repeatedly passed at the sessions of the Congress pro-

fessing loyalty to the Crown and demanding greater and yet greater opportunities of co-operation with and service under the Government in its various departments of administration. Subjects of wider importance also began to find a place later in the discussions of the National Congress. But the Congressmen of the early days belonged mainly to the stratum of society representing the professional and intellectual bourgeoisie of India. With due deference to their position, let me state frankly, they did not represent the masses, nor did they make any attempt to approach them, much less work among them in order to organise them for the liberation of our country. The position before the War was something like this:—

(1) The Upper Class—the land-lords and the wealthier elements were favoured by the bureaucrats, and were loyal supporters of British Imperialism.

(2) The Middle Class, particularly the lower middle class representing petty bourgeoisie of small traders and others, were showing signs of dissatisfaction owing to financial difficulties.

(3). The National Movement for all practical purposes was confined mainly to the educated and professional classes, such as lawyers and others, taking intelligent interest in the affairs of their country.

(4) The Peasants and Workers, although feeling the strain and stress of life most bitterly, were not yet awakened to active consciousness of their miserable existence.

Then came the Great War with all its promises of self-determination, the world to be made safe for democracy, equality—of rights and status of individuals and nations—all these things were bound to create a revolution of ideas in the world, particularly among the exploited and down-trodden nations of the East. Ever since the victory of Japan over Russia the Eastern nations were getting into that dangerous mood of preparing to free themselves from the soul-killing domination of Western Imperialism. The Russian Revolution, the Turkish Revolution, the Irish Revolution, the Persian, Chinese, Egyptian and similar other revolutions had their natural effect on the people. Let us not forget that these revolutions denote two impor-

tant factors in the working of the present-day human mind.(1) The revolt of the subject races against foreign domination. (2) The world-wide awakening and revolt of the masses against the forces of Imperialism. India too had been affected by the victory of Japan over Czarist Russia; India too has been impressed and stirred by the recent revolutions that have taken place in different countries. During the War high hopes of equal status, of justice and freedom within the Empire were aroused in some of us by the false and alluring promises made by Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen. England was eventually saved, but India was disillusioned. That is the moral of the War!

Meantime the Indian National Congress relying on the promises of English statesmen during the War, soon realised to its cost that these promises were nothing more than mere idle dreams. It became more and more vocal and began to gather strength on account of the discontent in the country. Something had to be done to placate the Moderates and rally them round to the stronghold of bureaucracy. Consequently the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms was introduced in 1919. There was a regular hue and cry raised throughout the country and flood-gates of criticism opened against this ill-begotten Scheme of Reforms. The bureaucracy in India was alarmed. In order to kill "extremism" in the country by means of further repression, it brought forth the ill-fated Rowlatt (the Black) Bills. Meetings were held all over the country and resolutions unanimously passed denouncing the new legislation. There was a tearing and a raging agitation set on foot in the whole of India and the people were deeply stirred to action. Mahatma Gandhi, as we all remember, came into the field, and under his great and marvellous leadership the Satyagraha campaign was launched. The Rowlatt legislation constituted a political issue of the first magnitude, and Hindus and Muslims, classes and masses, all joined the struggle for the national cause. It also showed that the so-called religious and communal differences were only skin-deep. They were not real, they were not genuine. They were artificially kept up, and encouraged by interested parties and persons for their own selfish

ends. This wonderful unity of national purpose and display of national interest gave a rude shock to the forces of Imperialism in India and the British Isles.

In the name of 'prestige' and in order to teach a 'lesson' to the people of this country for having shown a spirit of revolt, the Government resorted to drastic measures of repression. Their aeroplanes threw bombs on the unsuspecting people, their Smiths had the audacity to uncover the veils of our women, their Dyers had the license of shooting into the crowds of innocent unarmed citizens gathered in a lawful meeting for the prosecution of a lawful object. (*Shame.*) Their soldiers and military officers made the people rub their noses against the ground, crawl on their bellies, and undergo the scourge of whipping. (*Shame.*) Our young men and students were ordered to fall in line and taken in marching processions over long distances in the burning heat of the sun in order to salute the Union Jack (*shame*) the emblem of British Imperialism. I think we deserve whipping unless we get up and do something. These and many other unspeakable insults and injuries were offered to India's manhood and its sense of self-respect. The growing patriotism of our countrymen was put to a sore test; but it refused to be cowed down by the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh and other brutal atrocities committed by the strong arm of bureaucracy in the name of law and order. The Reforms of 1919 were declared by you at the time of the Amritsar Congress as disappointing, inadequate and unsatisfactory, and you refused to believe in the good intentions of Great Britain unless something real, something tangible was immediately done to pacify India and to show that England was after all sorry for her great sins of commission and omission. But British Imperialism would not pay heed to your demands. On the contrary, it began to have resort to questionable means and methods in order to hide its story of naked shame and moral degradation from the searching eyes of the world. The country once again, under the command of its veteran leader, rose with a cry of Non-Co-operation. And what did the non-co-operators want? "The non-co-operators are at war with the Govern-

ment," said Mahatmaji. "We want to overthrow the Government and compel its submission to the people's will. We shall have to stagger humanity, even as South Africa and Ireland, with this exception:– we will rather spill our own blood, not that of our opponents. This is a fight to a finish." (I wish Mahatmaji would speak again like this.) Again said Mahatmaji: "I am a man of peace, but not of peace at any price—only of that peace which will enable us to stand up to the world as free men."

This talk of war, gentlemen, of overthrowing the Government, of spilling of blood—(even our own blood), of fight to a finish—what did it all mean? India was in the throes of a mighty revolution, and the people as a whole gave a splendid response to the call of Revolution. Leaders and workers, men and women, young and old, without any distinction of caste and creed, gladly filled the jails of India—of all parts of India—in their thousands, and paid the penalty of deliberately violating the laws of a foreign bureaucratic system of government. For two years at least we did stagger humanity and shook the foundations of Imperialism. But the war was unfortunately not to be fought to a finish. Something untoward happened at Chauri Chaura and one or two other places, and there was a dead stop to our movement at the most psychological moment of its struggle for existence. We simply refused to win the victory of which no power on earth could possibly have deprived us. The failure of our struggle for freedom was a result of our own making. It was naturally followed by a terrible reaction. The spirit of discontent and disappointment caught hold of the imagination of the people, and by a campaign of subtle intrigues our country was divided. Our Moderate friends, representing the bourgeois interests of their classes, raised their voice in favour of co-operation, and our communal leaders who were found openly assisting the Government in its policy of mad repression now posed as champions of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other rights. Cries of "Islam in danger," "Hinduism in danger," "Sikhism in danger," and similar other false alarms, were raised from house-tops and there was nothing left, it seemed, for our unfortunate country but chaos and

confusion. Some Nationalist workers also fell a prey to the spirit of the moment and wittingly or unwittingly began to swell the forces of reaction. There were others who with the best possible intention in the world and after due deliberation and consultation tried to stem the tide of communal madness by turning the energies of the various communities into constructive and useful channels of internal reforms, but even they could not escape the spirit of distrust and suspicion prevailing in the land.

The National forces of our country, in turn, became divided into different parties, groups, and factions of whole-hogging Non-co-operators, of Swarajists, and of Responsive Co-operators. All this was due, to my mind, to the lack of a real, sound, political programme which would have made a direct appeal to the revolutionary spirit of the people—the masses, the workers and the peasants.

Friends, I have already stated that the so-called Hindu-Muslim differences are only transitory, ephemeral, and skin-deep. They are the result of a tremendous reaction. They have no back-bone, no legs to stand upon. If we had only left them alone to die their natural death the cause of National India would not have suffered much. But goaded by the taunts of the bureaucrats we tried to solve them. Our All-Party Conferences have done us no good. On the contrary, by giving a status to rank communalists, they have done immeasurable harm to the political movement. The Nehru Committee appointed by the Congress did all in its power to bring about amicable settlement of the intercommunal questions. But their report has not brought us any real solution of those questions. I feel there is something fundamentally wrong about our conception of religion in connection with the political life of the country. Let us realise that religion is after all only a matter of opinion, of faith, of conviction which can be changed any moment in one's life. We may be Hindu or Muslim by religious conception. But that has nothing to do with our being Indian. (*Cheers.*) That would not change the factum of our birth, or our nationality. No one would call us English or French, or American because we happen to have changed our

religion. Some of our countrymen have adopted Christianity. They try to imitate English manners, dress and the general way of living. But they are Indians bred and born all the same. The same is the case with Musalmans. Turks, Arabs, Egyptians and others are only our brethren-in-faith. We cannot become Turks nor can Turks and others be recognised as Indians because they happen to be of the same faith. Let us, therefore, get rid of this notion of having religion as the basis of our political rights, and political demands and divisions. Cries of 'religion in danger' or 'religious culture in danger,' are the result of distrust and suspicion created by the policy of 'divide and rule.' Such cries were raised, and this is a matter of authentic history, in other parts of the world, and there were fierce and bloody wars fought on that basis. But when the peoples of those countries realised the utter hollowness of such imaginary cries and saw the terrible havoc that was done by their indulging in such cries they became wise. There are Jews, Catholics and Protestants and others in Europe and America who have settled down to life after sad experience of religious persecution and have come to realise the fundamental fact that religion after all is a moral force guiding the spiritual life of an individual and as such has nothing to do in practice with his political or economic interests in the universe. The more so with India, where there are so many faiths and creeds already in existence and every other decade a new creed springs up. Let our people understand that so long as some of us indulge in dividing India politically on a religious basis there can be no peace in the country. The dreams of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj are just as foolish, as wild and as mischievous, as the false and meaningless cries of 'religion in danger.' (*Hear, hear.*) The talk of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj is not practical politics. There is only one Raj and that is the Indian Raj which must be our goal and for the attainment of which we must be ready to lay down our lives. People who talk so loudly of religion, do not really understand what they talk about. They only exploit the religious susceptibilities of poor ignorant men for their selfish motives, and personal gain. It is not religion that is in danger. It is the

over-wrought sense of religiosity that is in danger. Religion is a great force and is safe in India, but religiosity as preached and practised by a selfish hierarchy or by pseudo-religious leaders is rotten to the core. For us the best way of exorcising this demon of religiosity from among the afflicted people is to ignore it by refusing to recognise its existence in matters economic and political." The Europeans, as I said before, did this long ago. The Eastern countries like China, Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan, etc. are doing it at the present moment. We too must do the same to free our people from the grip of a bigoted, narrow-minded and soulless hierarchy of selfish professional "Divines." Having made a distinction between religion and religiosity, let us recognise the principle of giving liberty and protection to every man or woman to select his or her own religion if he or she so desires, and that is the utmost that a civilised society can do for its members in their individual capacity.

Some of you might say : 'This is all right as a matter of principle, but we have to face facts. In order to fight the Indian bureaucracy and the forces of British Imperialism we must do something, at least for the time being, to unite the country even on a communal basis with a view to check the mischief-mongers who might betray us in the hour of our need. This to my mind, friends, is not logic. Let us have a good fighting programme based on a truly national, political and economic basis. The masses, I am sure, will immediately follow your lead. And I do not think they have ever betrayed you. During the Satyagraha and Non-co-operation days they and the petty bourgeoisie did not cry halt. In fact they felt annoyed with you because you yourself withdrew your forces by ordering retreat at Bardoli. The question of separate electorates, or communal representation, of processions, and music before mosques, in fact all such matters which are the stock-in-trade of communalists did not trouble their minds. It is my conviction that the masses even to-day do not really care for such petty considerations of life. To them the main question is how to get bread and butter for themselves and their children. They find hemselves in a condition of poverty that has brought

them and theirs to the verge of starvation. In spite of you and the Government, they are organising themselves to-day on a politico-economic basis, and by their strikes and demonstrations are already showing wonderful signs of unity. With them there is no such thing as Hindu rights and Muslim rights. They make no such distinctions. Let me remind you that the peasants, the tillers of the soil, the labourers and workers, are future masters of India's destiny. (*Hear, hear.*) Let us not at least betray them and their cause by squabbling over things which we know are not genuine and cannot hold. Every communalist worth the name will tell you that communal representation is not an ideal thing to have. He wants to retain it only as a temporary measure, for a fixed number of years, or till such time as his confidence is restored. Forgive me, friends, if I call this attitude of mind as cowardice, sheer cowardice, nothing but cowardice. The majority of those who clamour for separate electorates, and communal representation belong to the landed commercial and intellectual bourgeoisie who will talk, talk, talk, but never move their little finger against the Government in the cause of the country. Majority of them (honourable exceptions apart) belong to the class who hanker after titles, jobs, and grants of land from the Government and would sell their body and soul to please their masters for the proverbial mess of pottage. But there are others who honestly believe in the retention of communalism in our body politic at least for some time so that they may be able to bring their community round to the saner view of things. I would make to them an appeal to have faith in the truth of their convictions, and come out and fight straight without attempting to flirt with the forces which they know and have reasons to believe to be reactionary and evil. No religion or religious culture is really in danger as I have already said, but if you must have some provision in the future constitution of the country, then let there be a general provision to the effect that any question relating to religion should not be decided, in case of objection, and that a fixed number (say $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$) of the numbers professing that religion and present in the meeting give their support to it. This in my humble opinion, will

afford much better protection, (if protection be really required) than the mischievous and objectionable system of separate representation on communal lines.

Friends, let me now pass on to the question of our political status. The Indian National Congress starting with humble beginnings, at last, in its Madras session, declared Independence as the goal of India's political activities. But this resolution was modified, as you all know, in a spirit of compromise by some of our leaders during the last session held at Calcutta. An overwhelming majority, to my mind, had come prepared to vote for independence, but owing to the attitude taken up by the leaders, many of those present in the meeting, changed their minds and voted against their better judgment at the last moment. The resolution was passed only by a majority of votes—those voting against it formed a very substantial minority. It was essentially a compromise resolution, and the compromise was brought about with a view to placate the Moderates and to give the British Government a chance to make a definite declaration regarding their policy towards the future Government of India. The resolution demanded the establishment of Dominion Status within 12 months but the doors to the Independence ideal were not shut. On the contrary and almost in the same breath the Congress declared its adherence to the Madras resolution and allowed the independence party to carry on agitation for its ideal. The wording of that resolution is delightfully vague, as is generally the case with all compromise resolutions. The net result of that resolution, if I understand it correctly, is that if by the 31st of this month (December) the British Parliament did not send us a Charter (duly signed and sealed by His Majesty the King) of a full-fledged Dominion Status for India we stand pledged as honourable men to declare Independence not only as an ideal for our country but as our immediate objective. (*Cheers.*) Two days more, friends, and the stipulated period of 12 months would pass. Hitherto the charter has not arrived. It may be still in transit, or it may not have been sent at all. Therefore let us make our preparations in haste and prove to the world that we are really honest and serious-minded patriots, dreadfully in earnest and that we mean busi-

ness. This is how the world took the meaning of our resolution. This is how we and our countrymen took it. This is how it has been declared by our leaders from every platform. and our press understood and supported it. Mahatmaji himself is reported to have declared, and I do hope he has been correctly reported, that after the 31st of December, if Dominion Status is not recognised as an accomplished fact, he would declare himself an "Independence-walla." (*Hear, hear.*) And we know Mahatmaji is a man of his word.

For months together the country has remained on the tiptoe of expectation without getting any response from British Imperialism. I beg your pardon, friends, I forget we did get something in the meantime. The leaders and the members of the Conservative party and of the Liberal party in England and their press ridiculed us for having dared to pass such a monstrously foolish resolution. Our dear old friends, the retired Anglo-Indians of the type of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, my great friend, and other valiant knights of the sundried bureaucracy in England raised a hue and cry and in all seriousness advised the Indian Government to adopt strong repressive measures like those, perhaps, of the Jallianwalla Bagh. They talked of Russian gold, of Soviet intrigues, of the incurable Hindu-Muslim differences, of the incapacity of us poor Indians to govern ourselves, of the need of the strong arm to protect the masses against the baneful influences of the emissaries of the 3rd International and the agents of the hot-headed irresponsible members of the Labour Party who were carrying on a downright Socialist and Communist propaganda in this preserve of British Imperialism.

And how did the bureaucrats in India take this advice of their tried and experienced predecessors-in-office? They accepted it both in letter and spirit and acted upon it without reserve. They came to the Assembly with their Trade Disputes Bills and Safety Bills and many other bills of oppression and suppression. They attacked the elementary rights of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association and began to send our patriots to the lock-up and jail in large numbers. Then it was suddenly discovered that India was becoming a hot-bed of revolutionary conspi-

racies of the violent type and prosecutions were launched on a scale that baffles imagination. The Assembly Bomb Case, the Lahore and Meerut cases and other cases cropped up as if by the touch of the magic wand.

Now in all civilized countries the motive of a crime is the primary thing to be considered. Murder committed for instance in pursuit of lust, personal gain or for personal revenge constitutes a most heinous crime and on account of the base motive the murderer gets no concession from the jury or the judge. But a murder committed in a moment of excitement or gross provocation or without ulterior motive is always held by the great jurists of all countries as worthy of consideration. You may not agree with the act itself, you may even shoot a man or hang him, but you must give him credit for the selflessness and purity of his motive. And what motive could be purer and nobler than the motive behind a political 'crime.' England herself has made heroes of her political 'murderers' in her own country. In recent history, in fact as late as 1924 Englishmen were compelled to treat political 'murderers' in Ireland on equal footing and amnesty was granted before the truce of 1924 to all political prisoners including those who were charged with or convicted of downright cold-blooded murder. But in India the bureaucracy has persistently refused to recognise the political status of such crimes. The matter was brought to an issue only recently in the case of the Lahore Conspiracy under-trial prisoners. At first the Government would not listen. The under-trial prisoners resorted to hunger-strike demanding equal status of Indian prisoners with the European and also better treatment for the under-trials. This was a fight for the establishment of a great principle. The strike went on for more than 60 days, and there was a huge agitation set on foot throughout the country. But the Government remained adamant. They had to yield only when Sjt. Jatindra Nath Dass breathed his last as a great martyr to the principle for which he was fighting. The Government were made to eat the humble pie and swallow their false notion of bureaucratic "prestige," for Bhagat Singh and Dutt and their gallant co-accused were determined to meet cheerfully the same fate. (*Hear, hear.*)

Soon Jail Committees were appointed and promises were made of better treatment to political and other Indian prisoners. But the treatment of political prisoners meantime has remained in parctice as shabby as ever.

Friends, thus months passed away since the Calcutta Congress till the Viceroy on his return from England made his famous statement which raised a storm in a tea-cup. I need not go into the details of what took place after the Viceroy's statement. The speeches made in the Houses of Parliament lead us nowhere. The Conservative and Liberal leaders have certainly made their position clear. At least in their case we know where we stand. But what is the position of the Labour Party ? It is true that the Secretary of State for India swore at Lloyd George and Birkenhead. He used fairly strong language of a personal nature. But that would not help matters much. Will any one of my liberal, moderate or reactionary friends enlighten us as to what is the exact position our country is going to attain immediately after the Simon Report is discussed in the House of Commons ? In so far as that Report is concerned it would be idle to expect a Durham in Sir John Simon. In so far as the speeches made in Parliament are concerned, *two things stand out pre-eminently clear; (1)* India is not a party question; (2) India is not going to get Dominion Status to-day or in the near future—in fact at this rate, not for a long time—not for centuries to come! Our liberal and moderate friends in India may go on waiting till doomsday crying for the moon. The whole history of British Imperialism is against them. Englishmen do not listen to mere words, mere threats of subject nations. They have never done it in the past and they are not likely to do it in the future. Even towards their own kith and kin they did not do this. Their American colonies (now the United States of America) had to fight for their independence and to win it. Canada and South Africa again had to fight hard before they got their Dominion Status. Their next door neighbour Ireland, after centuries of repression won its Free State only when Sinn Feiners and Republicans came into the open with their parallel

Government, and Irish Volunteers by successfully carrying out a programme of guerilla warfare made things rather hot for the Black and Tans and the horde of English and Irish spies and reactionaries. These are all matters of history and throw a flood of light on the true character of the English race. Those who pin their faith on the good-will, and sweet words and fair promises of the Labour Party will profit a good deal by carefully studying the history of this great part℟. The English Labourers with th› development of industrialisation in England and moved by their selfish interests helped Imperialism in its wretched exploitation of subjcet races, particularly of our own country. It is only after the War when large scale industrialisation of India began and the capital of English imperialists with the object of exploiting our cheap labour came in millions of pounds to this country that the English labourer deprived of his chances of making money directly has really tried to raise his voice of protest in the interest of the Indian masses and the suffering humanity generally. It is high time we realised the difference between the Labour Party in office and the left wingers both in Parliament and in the country. It is true that the British Trades Union Congress at Scarborough passed the following resolutions:—

"This Trades Union Congress believes the domination of non-British people by the British Government to be a form of capitalist exploitation having for its object the securing for British capitalists (1) of cheap sources of raw materials, (2) the right to exploit cheap and unorganised labour and to use the competition of that labour to degrade workers' standards in Great Britain.

"It declares its complete opposition to Imperialism and resolves (1) to support the workers in all parts of the British Empire to organise the Trade Unions and political parties in order to further their interests and (2) to support the right of all people in the British Empire to self-determination, including the right to choose complete separation from the Empire."

The resolution was passed in 1925 and requires no further elucidation on my part for it speaks for itself. Since 1925, the labourers and workers of Eng-

land representing the left wing of the Labour Party have given some proof, though in small measure, of their active interest in the Labour organisations of our country. But these things are in spite of Mr. Macdonald and his right wing in the Parliament and in the country. The sole test of the intentions of the Parliamentary Labour Party is this: Are they going to make the question of Dominion Status their party question just as Gladstone did in the case of Ireland? Are they prepared to fight on this issue, and if defeated in Parliament go to the electorates and seek their votes on the question of Dominion Status for India? No, friends, no. Not Mr. Macdonald and his party. They will never risk their reputation and stake their chances of holding office, for our sake. Then what is our position? The Parliamentary Labour Party will turn round and say "Gentlemen, we are sorry; we want to give you full-fledged Dominion Status but the Conservatives and Liberals won't have it. Therefore, take whatever is best in the circumstances and wait for the rest. You see we do not command a majority in the House as a single party. We are only in office, but not in majority. Trust us, and pray for our sweeping success at the next elections. Then we assure you we shall do all in our power to get you fixed up in your Dominion Status. All that we can say, at present, is better luck next time." No self-respecting people can entertain even the idea of making the future of the nation dependent on the good-will and fortunes of an alien political party of a domineering nation. India's freedom can be attained only through India's own efforts. (*Hear, hear.*) The history of nations that have attained their freedom as well as the history of our own political struggles tells us that self-reliance, self-sacrifice and suffering are the only road to Swaraj.

Friends, let us, therefore, face facts and frame our programme.

Briefly stated, the main factors of our problem are, firstly, that the continuance of alien domination constitutes such a bleeding of masses that there can be no tinkering with the question of our National freedom.

Secondly, self-reliance, sacrifice and suffering are

the only methods for the attainment of our freedom.

Thirdly, our programme of action must be broad-based and dynamic so that we may mobilize the peasants and workers of India who are the real backbone of the country.

Viewing the national problem, as I do, I would submit for your consideration the following for the formulation of our national programme :—

(*i*) The Congress should declare complete Independence as its immediate objective. (*Hear, hear.*)

(*ii*) Complete boycott of the Legislatures.

(*iii*) Organisation of National army of workers with a view to co-ordinate and combine the different workers' and peasants' organisations as also youth organisations.

(*iv*) The organisation of a permanent body of full time National workers paid as well as honorary.

(*v*) Organisation of mass Civil Disobedience as well as individual Civil Disobedience in selected areas under the direction of a compact and small Central Committee of Action with full powers of control.

In fact I want some one to be a Dictator with a central body to carry on a revolutionary programme, which of course the country needs most.

I have now concluded. I shall say only a word of appeal.

My appeal is firstly to Mahatmaji. He is the one leader in whom the masses have faith. He is the one leader who commands nation-wide respect and affection. I appeal to Mahatmaji to lead us in our struggle for the attainment of National Independence. The country is ready for action. It is ready for suffering and sacrifice. The Non-Co-operation programme of the Nagpur Congress gave the country a militant and dynamic programme. The country responded wonderfully. It is true the Chauri Chaura incident led to a sudden suspension of the programme, which severely disappointed the workers and the country and played havoc with morale. To-day, we are once again on the

eve of a period of dynamic action. I appeal to Mahatmaji. Pray come and lead us. We are ready. But let there be no repetition of Chauri Chaura and Bardoli. No turning back, once we get our feet onward. Let the slogan be—Onward, onward, until the goal is reached.

I have also a word to say to my young friends. The country looks to them to fight the battle for Swaraj. The youth are the makers of history. In every country it is the youth that have borne the brunt of freedom's battle. I appeal to our youth to set in the spirit of *noblesse oblige.* The acceptance of Mahatmaji's leadership lays a duty on the soldiers of the nation, the duty to be non-violent, to conform to discipline, to be loyal to the ideals of the National Government. I have done.

It is now my pleasant duty to accord on behalf of you all a hearty welcome to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. Panditji and I were contemporaries at Cambridge, though you may doubt it, seeing how gray I have grown. Our comradeship which began at Cambridge has continued in the service of a common cause. Pandit Jawahar Lal is the embodiment of the ideals, the courage and the sacrifices of the youth of the country. I once again accord him a hearty welcome on behalf of you all, and request him to take the Chair. (*Cheers.*)

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Dr. Kitchlew then garlanded the President who was given an ovation as he ascended the rostrum to deliver the Presidential Address. The President then delivered his address in Hindustani, of which the following is an English version.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Comrades,

For four and forty years this National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this period it has somewhat slowly but surely awakened national consciousness from its long stupor and built up the national movement. If today we are gathered here at a crisis of our destiny, conscious of our strength as well as of our weakness, and looking with hope and apprehension to the future, it is well that we

give first thought to those who spent their lives with little hope of reward so that those that follow them may have the joy of achievement. Many of the giants of old are not with us and we of a later day, standing on an eminence of their creation, may often decry their efforts. That is the way of the world. But none of you can forget them or the great work they did in laying the foundations of a free India. And none of us can ever forget that glorious band of men and women who, without recking the consequences, have laid down their young lives or spent their bright youth in suffering and torment in utter protest against a foreign domination. Many of their names even are not known to us. They laboured and suffered in silence without any expectation of public applause, and by their heart's blood they nursed the tender plant of India's freedom. While many of us temporised and compromised, they stood up and proclaimed a people's right to freedom and declared to the world that India, even in her degradation, had the spark of life in her, because she refused to submit to tyranny and serfdom. Brick by brick has our national movement been built up, and often on the prostrate bodies of her martyred sons has India advanced. The giants of old may not be with us but the courage of old is with us still and India can yet produce martyrs like Jatindas and Wizaya.

This is the glorious heritage that we have inherited and you wish to put me in charge of it! I know well that I occupy this honoured place by chance more than by your deliberate design. Your desire was to choose another—one who towers above all others in this present-day world of ours—and there could have been no wiser choice. But fate and he conspired together and thrust me against your will and mine into this terrible seat of responsibility. Should I express my gratitude to you for having placed me in this dilemma? But I am grateful indeed for your confidence in one who strangely lacks it himself.

You will discuss many vital national problems that face us today and your decisions may change the course of Indian history. But you are not the only people that are faced with problems. The whole world today is one vast question mark and every country and

every people is in the melting pot. The age of faith, with the comfort and stability it brings, is past, and there is questioning about everything, however permanent or sacred it might have appeared to our forefathers. Everywhere there is doubt and restlessness and the foundations of the state and society are in process of transformation. Old established ideas of liberty, justice, property and even the family are being attacked and the outcome hangs in the balance. We appear to be in a dissolving period of history when the world is in labour and out of her travail will give birth to a new order.

No one can say what the future will bring, but we may assert with some confidence that Asia, and even India, will play a determining part in future world policy. The brief day of European domination is already approaching its end. Europe has ceased to be the centre of activity and interest. The future lies with America and Asia. Owing to false and incomplete history many of us have been led to think that Europe has always dominated over the rest of the world, and Asia has always let the legions of the west thunder past and has plunged in thought again. We have forgotten that for millennia the legions of Asia overran Europe and modern Europe itself largely consists of the descendants of these invaders from Asia. We have forgotten that it was India that finally broke the military power of Alexander. Thought has undoubtedly been the glory of Asia and specially of India, but in the field of action the record of Asia has been equally great. But none of us desires that the legions of Asia or Europe should overrun the continents again. We have all had enough of them.

India to-day is a part of a world movement. Not only China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt but also Russia and the countries of the west are taking part in this movement, and India cannot isolate herself from it. We have our own problems, difficult and intricate, and we cannot run away from them and take shelter in the wider problems that affect the world. But if we ignore the world we do so at our peril. Civilisation today, such as it is, is not the creation or the monopoly of one people or nation. It is a composite fabric to

which all countries have contributed and then have adapted to suit their particular needs. And if India has a message to give to the world, as I hope she has, she has also to receive and learn much from the messages of other people.

When everything is changing it is well to remember the long course of Indian history. Few things in history are more amazing than the wonderful stability of the social structure in India which withstood the impact of numerous alien influences and thousands of years of change and conflict. It withstood them because it always sought to absorb them and tolerate them. Its aim was not to exterminate but to establish an equilibrium between different cultures. Aryans and non-Aryans settled down together recognising each other's right to their culture, and outsiders who came, like the Parsis, found a welcome and a place in the social order. With the coming of the Moslems the equilibrium was disturbed but India sought to restore it, and largely succeeded. Unhappily for us, before we could adjust our differences, the political structure broke down, the British came and we fell.

Great as was the success of India in evolving a stable society she failed in a vital particular, and because she failed in this, she fell and remains fallen. No solution was found for the problem of equality. India deliberately ignored this and built up her social structure on inequality, and we have the tragic consequences of this policy in the millions of our people who till yesterday were suppressed and had little opportunity for growth.

When Europe fought her wars of religion and Christians massacred each other in the name of their Saviour, India was tolerant, although alas! there is little of this toleration today. Having attained some measure of religious liberty, Europe sought after political liberty and political and legal equality. Having attained these also she finds that they mean very little without economic liberty and equality. And so today politics have ceased to have much meaning and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality.

India also will have to find a solution to this

problem and until she does so her political and social structure cannot have stability. That solution need not necessarily follow the example of any other country. It must, if it has to endure, be based on the genius of her people and be an outcome of her thought and culture. And when it is found, the unhappy differences between various communities, which trouble us today and keep back our freedom, will automatically disappear.

Indeed the real differences have already largely gone, but fear of each other and distrust and suspicion remain and sow seeds of discord. The problem before us is not one of removing differences. They can well remain side by side and enrich our many-sided culture. The problem is how to remove fear and suspicion, and, being intangible, they are hard to get at. An earnest attempt was made to do so last year by the All Parties Committee and much progress was made towards the goal. But we must admit with sorrow that success has not wholly crowned its efforts. Many of our Muslim and Sikh friends have strenuously opposed the solutions suggested and passions have been roused over mathematical figures and percentages. Logic and cold reason are poor weapons to fight fear and distrust. Only faith and generosity can overcome them. I can only hope that the leaders of various communities will have this faith and generosity in ample measure. What shall we gain for ourselves or for our community if all of us are slaves in a slave country? And what can we lose if once we remove the shackles from India and can breathe the air of freedom again? Do we want outsiders, who are not of us and who have kept us in bondage, to be the protectors of our little rights and privileges, when they deny us the very right to freedom? No majority can crush a determined minority, and no minority can be sufficiently protected by a little addition to its seats in a legislature. Let us remember that in the world today, almost everywhere, a very small minority holds wealth and power and dominates over the great majority.

I have no love for bigotry and dogmatism in religion and I am glad that they are weakening. Nor do I love communalism in any shape or form. I find it

difficult to appreciate why political or economic rights should depend on the membership of a religious group or community. I can fully understand the right to freedom in religion and the right to one's culture, and in India specially, which has always acknowledged and granted these rights, it should be no difficult matter to ensure their continuance. We have only to find out some way whereby we may root out the fear and distrust that darken our horizon today. The politics of a subject race are largely based on fear and hatred and we have been too long under subjection to get rid of them easily.

I was born a Hindu, but I do not know how far I am justified in calling myself one or in speaking on behalf of Hindus. But birth still counts in this country and by right of birth I shall venture to submit to the leaders of the Hindus that it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity. Generosity is not only good morals, but is often good politics and sound expediency. And it is inconceivable to me that in a free India the Hindus can ever be powerless. So far as I am concerned I would gladly ask my Muslim and Sikh friends to take what they will without protest or argument from me. I know that the time is coming soon when these labels and appellations will have little meaning and when our struggles will be on an economic basis. Meanwhile it matters little what our mutual arrangements are, provided only that we do build up barriers which will come in the way of future progress.

The time has indeed already come when the All-Parties Report has to be put aside and we march forward unfettered to our goal. You will remember the resolution of the last Congress which fixed a year of grace for the adoption of the All Parties scheme. That year is nearly over and the natural issue of that decision is for this Congress to declare in favour of independence and devise sanctions to achieve it.

That year has not brought Dominion Status or the All Parties Constitution. It has brought instead suffering and greater respression of our national and labour movement, and how many of our comrades are to-day forcibly kept away from us by the alien power!

How many of them suffer exile in foreign countries and are refused facilities to return to their motherland! The army of occupation holds our country in its iron grip and the whip of the master is ever ready to come down on the best of us who dare to raise their heads. The answer to the Calcutta resolution has been clear and definite.

Recently there has been a seeming offer of peace. The Viceroy has stated on behalf of the British Government that the leaders of Indian opinion will be invited to confer with the Government on the subject of India's fututre constitution. The Viceroy meant well and his language was the lagnuage of peace. But even a Viceroy's good will and courteous phrases are poor substitutes for the hard facts that confront us. We have sufficient experience of the devious ways of British diplomacy to beware of it. The offer that the British Government made was vague and there was no, commitment or promise of performance. Only by the greatest stretch of imagination could it be interpreted as a possible response to the Calcutta resolution. Many leaders of various political parties met together soon after and considered it. They gave it the most favourable interpretation for they desired peace and were willing to go half-way to meet it. But in courteous language they made it clear what the vital conditions for its acceptance were. Many of us who believed in independence and were convinced that the offer was only a device to lead us astray and create division in our ranks, suffered bitter anguish and were torn with doubt. Were we justified in precipitating a terrible national struggle with all its inevitable consequences of suffering for many when there was even an outside chance of honourable peace? With much searching of heart we signed that manifesto and I know not today if we did right or wrong. Later came the explanations and amplifications in the British Parliament and elsewhere and all doubt, if doubt there was, was removed as to the true significance of the offer. Even so your Working Committee chose to keep open the door of negotiation and left it to this Congress to take the final decision.

During the last few days there has been another

discussion of this subject in the British House of Commons and the Secretary of State for India has endeavoured to point out that successive Governments have tried to prove, not only by words but by deeds also, the sincerity of their faith in regard to India. We must recognise Mr. Wedgwood Benn's desire to do something for India and his anxiety to secure the good-will of the Indian people. But his speech and the other speeches made in Parliament carry us no further. "Dominion Status in action," to which he has drawn attention has been a snare for us and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burdens on the Indian masses are even greater to-day because of this "Dominion Status in action" and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. High Commissioners in London, and representatives on the League of Nations, and the purchase of stores, and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given us a record of the achievements of the past decade. He could have added to it by referring to Martial Law in the Punjab and the Jallianwala Bagh shooting and the repression and exploitation that have gone on continually during this period of "Dominion Status in action." He has given us some insight into what more of Dominion Status may mean for us. It will mean the shadow of authority to a handful of Indians and more repression and exploitation of the masses.

What will this Congress do? The conditions for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there is no guarantee that real freedom will come to us? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues? Can we co-operate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet, and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people, let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

If the Calcutta resolution holds, we have but one goal to-day, that of independence. Independence is not a

happy word in the world today for it means exclusiveness and isolation. Civilisation has had enough of narrow nationalism and gropes towards a wider co-operation and inter-dependence. And if we use the word independence we do so in no sense hostile to the larger ideal. Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation, and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

The British Empire to-day is not such a group and cannot be, so long as it dominates over millions of people and holds large areas of the world's surface despite the will of their inhabitants. It cannot be a true commonwealth so long as imperialism is its basis and the exploitation of other races its chief means of sustenance. The British Empire today is indeed gradually undergoing a process of political dissolution. It'is in a state of unstable equilibrium. The Union of South Africa is not a very happy member of the family, nor is the Irish Free State a willing one. Egypt drifts away. India could never be an equal member of the Commonwealth unless imperialism and all it implies is discarded. So long as this is not done, India's position in the Empire must be one of subservience and her exploitation will continue. The embrace of *the British Empire is a dangerous thing.* It cannot be the life-giving embrace of affection freely given and returned. And if it is not that, it will be, what it has been in the past, the embrace of death.

There is talk of world peace and pacts have been signed by the nations of the world. But despite pacts armaments grow and beautiful language is the only homage that is paid to the goddess of peace. Peace can only come when the causes of war are removed. So long as there is the domination of one country over another or the exploitation of one class by another there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order and no stable equilibrium can endure. Out of imperialism and capitalism peace can never come. And it is because the British Empire stands for these and bases itself on the exploitation of the masses that

we can find no willing place in it. No gain that may come to us is worth anything unless it helps in removing the grievous burdens on our masses. The weight of a great empire is heavy to carry and long our people have endured it. Their backs are bent and down and their spirit has almost broken. How will they share in the commonwealth partnership if the burden of exploitation continues? Many of the problems we have to face are the problems of vested interests, mostly created or encouraged by the British Government. The interests of rulers of Indian States, of British officials and British capital and Indian capital and of the owners of big zemindaris are ever thrust before us, and they clamour for protection. The unhappy millions who really need protection are almost voiceless and have few advocates. So long as the British Empire continues in India, in whatever shape it may do so, it will strengthen these vested interests and create more. And each one of them will be a fresh obstacle in our way. Of necessity the government has to rely on oppression and the symbol of its rule is the secret service with its despicable and contemptible train of agents provocateurs, informers and approvers.

We have had much controversy about independence and Dominion Status and we have quarrelled about words. But the real thing is the conquest of power by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of dominion status applicable to India will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us therefore, concentrate on these and the rest will follow easily.

We stand, therefore, today for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the parliament and conscience of the world, and to them we shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination. Today or tomorrow we may not be strong enough to assert our will. We are very conscious of our weakness and there is no boasting in us or pride of strength. But let no one,

least of all England, mistake or underrate the meaning or strength of our resolve. Solemnly, with full knowledge of consequences, I hope, we shall take it and there will be no turning back. A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If today we fail and tomorrow brings no success, the day after will follow and bring achievement.

We are weary of strife and hunger for peace and opportunity to work constructively for our country. Do we enjoy the breaking up of our homes and the sight of our brave young men going to prison or facing the halter ? Does the worker like going on strike to lose even his miserable pittance and to starve ? He does so by sheer compulsion when there is no other way for him. And we, who take this perilous path of national strife, do so because there is no other way to an honourable peace. But we long for peace, and the hand of fellowship will always be stretched out to all who may care to grasp it. But behind the hand will be a body which will not bend to injustice and a mind that will not surrender on any vital point.

With the struggle before us the time for determining our future constitution is not yet. For two years or more we have drawn up constitutions and finally the All Parties Committee put a crown to these efforts by drawing up a scheme of its own which the Congress adopted for a year. The labour that went to the making of this scheme was not wasted and India has profited by it. But the year is past and we have to face new circumstances which require action rather than constitution making. Yet we cannot ignore the problems that beset us and that will make or mar our struggle and our future constitution. We have to aim at social adjustment and equilibrium and to overcome the forces of disruption that have been the bane of India.

I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognise, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National

Congress and in the present cricumstances of the country, to adopt a full socialistic programme. But we must realise that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and the methods of advance to its full realisation. India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race.

We have three major problems—the minorities, the Indian States, and labour and peasantry. I have dealt already with the question of minorities. I shall only repeat that we must give the fullest assurance by our words and our deeds that their culture and traditions will be safe.

The Indian States, even for India, are the most curious relics of a bygone age. Many of their rulers apparently still believe in the divine right of kings—puppet kings though they be—and consider the State and all it contains to be their personal property, which they can squander at will. A few of them have a sense of responsibility and have endeavoured to serve their people, but many of them have hardly any redeeming feature. It is perhaps unjust to blame them for they are but the products of a vicious system and it is the system that will ultimately have to go. One of the rulers has told us frankly that even in case of war between India and England he will stand for England and fight against his mother country. That is the measure of his patriotism. It is not surprising then that they claim, and their claim finds acceptance with the British Government, that they alone can represent their subjects at any Conference and no one even of their subjects may have any say. The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India and their rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitations, go the way of others who thought like them. And the only people who have a right to determine the future of the States must be the people of these States, including the rulers. This Congress which claims self-determination cannot deny it to the people of the States. Meanwhile the Congress is perfectly willing to

confer with such rulers as are prepared to do so and to devise means whereby the transition may not be too sudden. But in no event can the people of the States be ignored.

Our third major problem is the biggest of all. For India means the peasantry and labour and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants will we succeed in our task. And the measure of the strength of our national movement will be the measure of their adherence to it. We can only gain them to our side by our espousing their cause which is really the country's cause. The Congress has often expressed its good will towards them but beyond that it has not gone. The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and zamindar and tenant. But the balance has been and is terribly weighted on one side and to maintain the *status quo* is to maintain injustice and exploitation. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another. The All India Congress Committee accepted this ideal of social and economic change in a resolution it passed some months ago in Bombay. I hope the Congress will also set its seal on it and will further draw up a programme of such changes as can be immediately put in operation.

In this programme perhaps the Congress as a whole cannot go very far today. But it must keep the ultimate ideal in view and work for it. The question is not one merely of wages and charity doled out by an employer or landlord. Paternalism in industry or in the land is but a form of charity with all its sting and its utter incapacity to root out the evil. The new theory of trusteeship, which some advocate, is equally barren. For trusteeship means that the power for good or evil remains with the self-appointed trustee and he may exercise it as he will. The sole trusteeship that can be fair is the trusteeship of the nation and not of one individual or a group. Many Englishmen honestly consider themselves the trustees for India, and yet to what a condition they have reduced our country!

We have to decide for whose benefit industry must be run and the land produce food. Today the abundance that the land produces is not for the peasant or the

labourer who works on it; and industry's chief function is supposed to be to produce millionaires. However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system.

Our economic programme must therefore be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers then the industry must close down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort, and human hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit. The All Parties Committee accepted the principle and included it in their recommendations. I hope the Congress will also do so and will in addition be prepared to accept its natural consequences. Further, that it will adopt the well-known demands of labour for a better life, and will give every assistance to it to organise itself and prepare itself for the day when it can control industry on a co-operative basis.

But industrial labour is only a small part of India although it is rapidly becoming a force that cannot be ignored. It is the peasantry that cry loudly and piteously for relief and our programme must deal with their present condition. Real relief can only come by a great change in the land laws and the basis of the present system of land tenure. We have among us many big landowners and we welcome them. But they must realise that the ownership of large estates by individuals, which is the outcome of a State resembling the old feudalism of Europe, is a rapidly disappearing phenomenon all over the world. Even in countries which are the strongholds of capitalism the large estates are being split up and given to the peasantry who work on them. In India also we have large areas where the system of peasant proprietorship prevails and we shall have to extend this all over the country. I hope that in doing so we may have the co-operation of some at least of the big landowners.

It is not possible for this Congress at its annual

session to draw up any detailed economic programme. It can only lay down some general principles and call upon the All India Congress Committee to fill in the details in co-operation with the representatives of the Trade Union Congress and other organisations which are vitally interested in this matter. Indeed I hope that the co-operation between this Congress and the Trade Union Congress will grow and the two organisations will fight side by side in future struggles.

All these are pious hopes till we gain power, and the real problem therefore before us is the conquest of power. We shall not do so by subtle reasoning or argument or lawyers' quibbles, but by the forging of sanctions to enforce the nation's will. To that end this Congress must address itself.

The past year has been one of preparation for us and we have made every effort to reorganise and strengthen the Congress organisation. The results have been considerable and our organisation is in a better state today than at any time since the reaction which followed the non-co-operation movement. But our weaknesses are many and are apparent enough. Mutual strife, even within Congress Committees, is unhappily too common and election squabbles drain all our strength and energy. How can we fight a great fight if we cannot get over this ancient weakness of ours and rise above our petty selves ? I earnestly hope that with a strong programme of action before the country our perspective will improve and we will not tolerate this barren and demoralising strife.

What can this programme be ? Our choice is limited, not by our own constitution, which we can change at our will, but by facts and circumstances. Article one of our constitution lays down that our methods must be legitimate and peaceful. Legitimate I hope they will always be for we must not sully the great cause for which we stand by any deed that will bring dishonour to it and that we may ourselves regret later. Peaceful I should like them to be for the methods of peace are more desirable and more enduring than those of violence. Violence too often brings reaction and demoralisation in its train, and in our country specially it may lead to disruption. It is per-

fectly true that organised violence rules the world today and it may be that we could profit by its use. But we have not the material or the training for organised violence and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is far worse. Let us also remember that the great apostle of non-violence has himself told us that it is better to fight than to refuse to fight out of cowardice.

Any great movement for liberation today must necessarily be a mass movement and mass movements must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt. Whether we have the non-co-operation of a decade ago or the modern industrial weapon of the general strike the basis is peaceful organisation and peaceful action. And if the principal movement is a peaceful one contemporaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it. It is not possible to carry on at one and the same time the two movements side by side. We have to choose and strictly to abide by our choice. What the choice of this Congress is likely to be I have no doubt. It can only choose a peaceful mass movement.

Should we repeat the programme and tactics of the non-co-operation movement? Not necessarily, but the basic idea must remain. Programmes and tactics must be made to fit in with circumstances and it is neither easy nor desirable for this Congress at this stage to determine them in detail. That should be the work of its executive, the All India Congress Committee. But the principles have to be fixed.

The old programme was one of the three boycotts—councils, law courts and schools—leading up to refusal of service in the army and non-payment of taxes. When the national struggle is at its height I fail to see how it will be possible for any person engaged in it to continue in the courts or the schools. But still I think

that it will be unwise to declare a boycott of the courts and schools at this stage.

The boycott of the legislative councils has led to much heated debate in the past and this Congress itself has been rent in twain over it. We need not revive that controversy for the circumstances today are entirely different. I feel that the step the Congress took some years ago to permit Congressmen to enter the councils was an inevitable step and I am not prepared to say that some good has not resulted from it. But we have exhausted that good and there is no middle course left today between boycott and non-co-operation. All of us know the demoralisation that these sham legislatures have brought in our ranks, and how many of our good men their committees and commissions lure away. Our workers are limited in number, and we can have no mass movement unless they concentrate on it and turn their backs on the palatial council-chambers of our legislatures. And if we declare for independence, how can we enter the councils and carry on our humdrum and profitless activities there ? No programme or policy can be laid down for ever, nor can this Congress bind the country or even itself to pursue one line of action indefinitely. But today I would respectfully urge the Congress that the only policy in regard to the councils is a complete boycott of them. The All India Congress Committee recommended this course in July last, and the time has come to give effect to it.

Our programme must, therefore, be one of political and enconomic boycott. It is not possible for us, so long as we are actually independent, and even then completely, to boycott another country wholly or to sever all connection with it. But our endeavour must be to reduce all points of contact with the British Government and to rely on ourselves. We must also make it clear that India will not accept responsibility for all the debts that England has piled on her. The Gaya Congress repudiated liability to pay these debts and we must repeat this repudiation and stand by it. Such of India's public debt as has been used for purposes beneficial to India we are prepared to admit and pay back. But we wholly deny all liability to pay back the vast sums

which have been raised so that India may be held in subjection and her burdens may be increased. In particular, the poverty-stricken people of India cannot agree to shoulder the burden of the wars fought by England to extend her domain or consolidate her position in India. Nor can they accept the many concessions lavishly bestowed, without even proper compensation, on foreign exploiters.

This boycott will only be a means to an end. It will release energy and divert attention to the real struggle which must take the shape of non-payment of taxes and, where possible, with the co-operation of the labour movement, general strikes. But non-payment of taxes must be well organised in specific areas, and for this purpose the Congress should authorise the All India Congress Committee to take necessary action whenever it considers desirable.

I have not so far referred to the constructive programme of the Congress. This should certainly continue but the experience of the last few years shows us that by itself it does not carry us swiftly enough. It prepares the ground for future action and ten years' silent work is bearing fruit to-day. In particular we shall, I hope, continue our boycott of foreign cloth and the boycott of British goods.

I have not referred so far to the Indians overseas and I do not propose to say much about them. This is not from any want of fellow feeling with our brethren in East Africa or South Africa or Fiji or elsewhere, who are bravely struggling against great odds. But their fate will be decided in the plains of India and the struggle we are launching into is as much for them as for ourselves.

For this struggle we want efficient machinery. Our Congress constitution and organisation have become too archaic and slow moving and are ill suited to times of crises. The times of great demonstrations are past. We want quiet and irresistible action now and this can only be brought about by the strictest discipline in our ranks. Our resolutions must be passed in order to be acted upon. The Congress will gain in strength however small its actual membership may become if it acts in a disciplined way. Small determined minorities

have changed the fate of nations. Mobs and crowds can do little. Freedom itself involves restraint and discipline and each one of us will have to subordinate himself to the larger good.

The Congress represents no small minority in the country, and though many may be too weak to join it or to work for it they look to it with hope and longing to bring them deliverance. Ever since the Calcutta resolution the country has waited with anxious expectations for this great day when this Congress meets. None of us can say what and when we can achieve. We cannot command success. But success often comes to those who dare and act; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes; and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavour and from writing a noble page in our country's long and splendid history.

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison and, it may be, death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

Vande-Mataram!

*

The President then put the following resolutions from the Chair :—

1. This Congress expresses its appreciation of the supreme self-sacrifice of Jatindra Nath Das and Phongyi U. Wizaya and offers its condolence to their families and is further of opinion that the foreign Government in India is responsible for their self-immolation.

The resolution was carried, all standing.

2. The Congress expresses its sorrow at the deaths of Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, ex-General Secretary of

the All-India Congress Committee and Prof. S. M. Paranjpe and Messrs. M. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu, Rohini Kanta Hatibarna, B. K. Lahori and Byomkesh Chakravarti.

The resolution was carried, the audience standing.

The Congress then adjourned till 1 p.m., Tuesday the 31st December 1929.

Proceedings of the Congress Session on December 31, 1929.

The Congress resumed its sitting at 1 p.m. on Tuesday the 31st December 1929. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (the President) in the Chair.

After the singing of national songs by lady Volunteers and others, Dr. Ansari read out messages to the Congress from outside.

MESSAGES TO LAHORE CONGRESS.

From Shapurji Saklatwala, London:—

St. Albans Villa,
Highgate Road,
London, N.W. 5.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

For the last seven years I was under compulsory necessity of having to send you my message from a distant exile. Since September of this year I had consented to come out to you as an official humble delegate of the Provincial Congress branch now firmly established in London. I was hoping not only to come out to give my political and social service to your Congress for a week or so, but I was coming out to serve the Congress as well as the toiling and suffering masses of India, for a prolonged period of some months. At this critical juncture of the struggle, which though it may appear to you to be a localised struggle, is all the same a world struggle affecting the worker and peasant class all over the world, it becomes the plain puty of every loyal Indian to stand by the workers and deasants of his country and to work for them as far as possible.

A tyrant's hand still holds me in exile away from the country of my birth and the people of my nationality. I know from actual experience that the Indian hand of self-interest and vested privileges is in support of my foreign gaoler, which to me conveys one more practical lesson in support of my great conviction of class-interest being predominant over any National solidarity.

I am thus compelled to send once again my message to my brothers and sisters in India and I trust that it will be given wide publicity without any undue advantage being taken of my enforced absence. I have first to caution my countrymen against a groundless excuse that my long residence in Great Britain has forfeited my Indian nationality. The whole thing is legally impossible. There are many Indian families living out of India for considerably long periods, and therefore requiring no home or having no address for that time, in India. There are still more numerous

British families living in India under similar circumstances and having for the time being no home in Britain. There is no legal basis whatever for naturalisation or denaturalisation as between Great Britain and India, and the question of residence does not fix any legal question of nationality.

Before the War, there were no passports or any kind of restriction on travelling or residential facilities between India and Great Britain, and therefore, when leaving India on three occasions before the War, I had no passport of Indian origin.

In 1916 I had necessity to travel to France when I was only given a temporary diplomatic letter applicable to that one trip, but no regular passport was granted to me. In 1923 I had to travel to Denmark and Russia purely in connection with my political work. The Government were unwilling to grant me my right and were determined to play a dishonest part even to destroy such a right. In order to cause an unwarrantable delay and even obstruction in my right to travel to Russia, the passport Department cunningly suggested to me to fill up an Indian form and to obtain some Indian magistrate to support my application. This would be as absurd and ridiculous as if a long-time British resident in India was asked at the last moment to have his passport application signed by persons of certain required qualifications but residing in Great Britain only. I naturally resented such trickery played against me and such degradation sought to be imposed upon me. I pointed out that I was a British subject residing for a long time in Great Britain and consequently had no address in India since 1906 except for one year, 1912-13, when I had resided with my father in Bombay. Further I had to point out that my mother had died in New York and my father had for some time resided and then died in Manchester and I had no parents' address in India at the time of applying for my passport.

These were statements of facts which did not in any way constitute a forfeiture of one's legal nationality between India and Great Britain. Such ridiculous questions about parents' address in the homeland and other parts would not be put to British citizens resid-

ing in India. There is no need for any persons to have Indian residential addresses in case one has got to reside abroad with one's family for a short or long time. Indians, residing in Great Britain, who arrived here before the War, and have been residing here, are all given British passports from here for travelling to Europe or other parts of the Empire. The Government did issue a passport to me, but put down on it the uncalled-for and illegal remark that at the time of issuing of passport I had no home in India and my father had died in Great Britain.

It is a preposterous and dishonest excuse mainly spread by the Cabinet Ministers in Great Britain that on this question of residence I had forfeited my legal and natural nationality. Every British Indian residing in Great Britain and possessing no Indian passport is fully entitled to the issue of a British passport just as every British-born citizen residing in India is issued an Indian passport. To forfeit and exchange nationalities as between India and Great Britain, by any residential qualification is a legal impossibility and even the ordinary laws of nationality do not operate between these two countries.

The purpose of stopping me really is my well-known exposure of the myth known as the Commonwealth of British nations and my intimate knowledge of the moral corruption and unprincipled tactics of the British Labour Party and especially of those of them who have been for years trying to fool the Indian people and have found themselves frustrated in their plans whenever I had the opportunity of exposing the truth.

Foreign rule in any other country has never been the rule of the foreigner as obtains in his own country. In the days of the ancient Roman, Grecian and Persian Empires, the rule in the conquered lands was opposite in spirit and practice to the principle observed in the homeland. Similarly today in modern history, the rule of America, Japan, Britain, France, Italy, etc. in their colonial empires is entirely different from the rule in their own country.

Is there anything British at all in the foreign administration in India, which is nothing but naked

foreign tyranny and inhuman exploitation ? Where is the British basis in India in "No taxation without representation" and "No imprisonment without trial by jury", of "Universal Adult Franchise", of "Mass Education", of "Complete and Supreme Sovereignty of the people over the rights of the Crown"? There is nothing, nothing British in the daily administration of the country and especially of the treatment of the workers and peasants in India even as far as British standards of life apply in Britain allowing for class oppression.

The fundamental conditions, which alone create the possibility of a genuine Dominion Status are not existing between India and Great Britain, even if such association was not objectionable in the economic structure of a nation's life. The racial, social and temperamental fabric of the two nations are not only different but in the present capitalist aspect of life they are irreconcilable. The legal, moral and political development have no common traditional base. The economic interests even of the bourgeois classes of the two countries, are hostile and conflicting at every turn, though both have a common class interest in exploiting the masses.

Therefore when a British ruler speaks of Dominion Status for India, he has in his mind a cruel, drastic and unnatural process of breaking and disciplining the Indian mentality and spirit into what he wants them to be as a process of political fitness. This is proved up to the hilt by the history of the last 12 years Lord Irwin asserts and seems to satisfy Brother Gandhi that his assertion is sincere that from 1917 and with the New Act of 1919, the British rulers have put themselves on the road of making Indians fit for a place inside a foreign Empire on Dominion Status basis. This is undoubtedly so and General Dyer himself confessed to the cruelty which the British officers had to practise to perform this task. British rulers have got to become brutal in order to fit Indians for a place within the Empire. They started out with the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh, proceeded with the slaughter of Moplahs, and kept on shooting and taking human lives in every industrial dispute among railway

workers, miners, cotton factory workers, and jute factory workers or iron and steel workers, under circumstances in which not a single life would be taken in Great Britain. Not hundreds but thousands of political workers, and especially those who work for the real benefit of workers and peasants on the class basis, have been put into prison after trials which would be considered scandalous in Great Britain and would produce an open mass rebellion. The British Viceroys set aside the findings of the Indian Legislature and enact laws upon a basis of personal rule on which basis any King in Great Britain would have lost his throne. These are approaches of British rulers towards an unnatural Dominion Status for Indians and these methods must continue.

Some of you believe from your limited selfish class outlook that in time these crude methods would pass away, but little do you realise the tremendous upheavals that are taking place all over the world in the other class, which is the majority class, namely the workers and peasants. The trials at Cawnpore, Lahore, and now the atrocious farce conducted at Meerut, are indications of the desperate needs of the British exploiter to suppress the masses in India and other colonies. 300 Arabs had to be slaughtered in Palestine and Negroes in Africa had to be subdued by the bayonet and gasbombs. The masses in Great Britain and workers all over Europe are showing signs of getting away from the control of their corrupt Trade Union and Labour Party leaders. The British rulers, including, of course, the Labour Party Ministers themselves, are in desperate need of defeating their own masses by the most cruel exploitation and suppression of workers in India and in the colonies. In that programme they count upon the blind support of the selfish Indian leaders in the class of vested interests who are now invited to go to a Round Table Conference. The purpose of the Round Table Conference is to build up a new alliance between British and Indian leaders both bent upon building up power for themselves upon the empty stomachs of the enslaved and on the death-roll of the masses. It is no use hiding the fact that this vile exploitation and oppression of workers and peasants

produced in India 40 lakhs more deaths, especially of infants, than what is justifiable even in a tropical and insanitary country like India. This is what Gandhi and others unfortunately accept as a non-violent and constitutional evolution by which Indians are going to become British bourgeoisie in their hearts, and the British rulers are going to become Indians in their outlook.

The whole thing is not only preposterous but cruel beyond words, and I do appeal to all my countrymen and country-women, inside and outside the Congress, to drop this new programme of enslaving the masses and to let the masses themselves go forward with the task of gaining national and bonafide Independence.

Just one last word to my fellow-delegates in the Congress. Like three blind mice, Gandhi, Nehru and Sapru, go out with big search-lights to discover a change of heart in that class whose sole function and task in this world is to rule people by ruthless suppression in all parts of the world.

They are looking for a change of heart in world-renowned, rank hypocrites, like Macdonald and Baldwin, like Lansbury and Maxton, or Wedgwood Benn and Lord Reading, people who change their politics and principles, not every year but every day of their lives, to suit their own convenience. They can put on any change of heart or appearance, as an artist upon a stage, whereas you, Congress Friends, you want to remain blind to the real change of heart and hand that has taken place and is taking place continuously, among the workers and youths and peasants of India. It is there that you see the new man and woman with courage in their hearts and an intelligent thought of intelligent emancipation in their hearts, which they never had before. You desert them, you seek no Round Table Conference with them, you find no way of co-operating with them, and you even prepare to push them into the background and to fight them by going in for the Round Table Conference with the British Parliament, who have wiped out life and liberty of millions and millions of Asiatics and Africans, and who are hard-faced enough to seek ways and means of bringing

further starvation upon their own countrymen in the working class.

I beg of you, I appeal to you, I ask you, to be wise in your own interest and to show the supreme moral courage and conscience and to do away with the political bourgeois Parliamentarians and to construct a new force for our mother country on the bed-rock of the workers and peasants guided by the new spirit of educated youth whenever it expresses itself in complete harmony with the struggle of the masses.

That way lies victory, liberty and ultimate life free from violence upon the workers and the peasants. I am still ready to be with you and to serve you to achieve such an object.

I remain,
Ever yours faithfully,
SHAPURJI SAKLATWALA.

Telegram from Shiva Prasad Gupta:—

Greetings to all co-workers I request and wish Congress develop Madras and Calcutta resolutions to logical consequence remove all ambiguities *re* goal of complete independence and formulate measures of direct action to be adopted by different classes of people immediately such as may exert influence on British and international politics. Lahore deliberations are being watched with keenest interest by powers great and small as well as oppresssed nationalities. World expects India to be brave and consistent in word and deed and show solid results of the work done by us since 1920.

SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA.

*From Indian Residents in Paris**:—*

At a meeting of the Indian residents in Paris held on 2nd January the following resolution was passed unanimously: this meeting expresses its entire sympathy with the decision of the Lahore Congress to work energetically for the real independence of the country and is of opinion that in view of the dilatory

* Messages received later during the week are also given here.

policy of British Imperialism the ideal of complete Swaraj is the only conception compatible with the honour and dignity of the Indian people and the justice of their cause.

S.R. RANA,
5ɔ Rue Lafayette,
PARIS,
Dated 2nd January 1930.

Cable from the Hindustani Kirti Party, Panama:—

We congratulating for independence and ceremony of hoisting National Flag.

Secretary,
Hindustani Kirti Party.

From Hindustan Nationalist Party, San Francisco, California:—

Accept heartiest approval for declaration of independence.

From Hon. Roodal, Port of Spain:—

Trinidad Indians send fraternal greetings. Pledge moral support struggle for complete independence.

From California Chapter Hindustan Association, America:—

This Association welcomes independence resolution. Pledges whole-hearted support.

From M. Mohammed Kifayatullah, Delhi:—

Hope Congress will become Indian National Congress in true sense under your Presidentship and you will leave no stone unturned to secure settlement of minorities' rights according to their own satisfaction because it is basis of complete Independence for which you are so anxious.

From the staff of "The Nation," New York:—

The staff of the New York *Nation* voices its ardent wish that the year 1930 may bring a great change and improvement in the fortunes of the Indian people, and find your country on the high road to a settlement of the fundamental questions involved in your relationships with Great Britain. The latest developments in England give us high hope that generosity and justice and wisdom will yet control in London.

For you personally, Mr. Gandhi, as great admirers of yours and believers in your philosophy, we send now especially warm wishes for the New Year. We certainly hope that you will continue to preach your doctrine of non-violent resistance to evil and that you will throw all your weight against any effort on the part of your fellow-citizens of India to resort to force to accomplish their purposes. Along that path, it seems to us, lies destruction.

From League Against Imperialism and for National Independence, British Section, London:—

The British Section of the League against Imperialism instruct me (Reginald Bridgman) to request you to be so good as to convey to the members of the Indian National Congress attending the Annual meeting at Lahore its sincere fraternal greeting, accompanied by the assurance of our fullest support in the struggle of the Indian people for complete national independence.

The members of the British section of the League are sensible of the special importance with which this year's National Congress is invested, and I am to assure you that at this critical juncture in India's national history, when decisions will be taken not less important to the British than to the Indian people, the thoughts of the British supporters of Indian independence will be with the Congress.

The British Section of the League against Imperialism has neglected no opportunity of demanding the complete national independence of India. Foreign rule is degrading both to the conquered and to the conquering race. It must be brought to an end, and the emancipation of the Indian people is one of the chief aims of the League against Imperialism, because India is the principal colonial country in the world, and upon her freedom depends the freedom of the other subject peoples, and the peace of the world. It is to bring about effective unity between the workers in the colonial countries and the workers in Imperialistic countries to combat the evils of imperialism that the League against Imperialism has been built up.

The struggle of the organised masses for freedom is to bring liberty to the conquered countries, and it is regrettable that people in the upper strata of society as at present constituted, frequently feel alarmed at this struggle of the masses and short-sightedly rush into open or tacit alliance with the imperialistic rulers in the hope of achieving a peaceful and gradual solution of the evils of imperialism.

In the growing struggle for the emancipation of the workers, it becomes increasingly evident that loyalty to the cause of anti-imperialism must supersede all personal loyalties.

The League against Imperialism is the object of repeated attacks. Only a day or two ago the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party arrived at the following conclusion:—

> "That the League against Imperialism is an organisation ancillary or subsidiary to the Communist Party and declares the League a political organisation ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party."

The effects of this decision will be to render members of the League against Imperialism ineligible as:—

(*a*) Delegates to the Labour Party or its Constituency organisation.

(*b*) Individual members of the Labour Party.

(*c*) Candidates for Parliament or Local Government Authority.

It is moreover certain that the influence of the British Government and of the British Trade Union leaders will be used in India to induce the members of the Indian National Congress to disaffiliate from the League against Imperialism.

The British section of the League trusts that the Congress will not allow itself to be deluded in this matter and that it will adhere to the decision which was taken at Madras two years ago to support the League against Imperialism both morally and materially, always remembering, however, that nominal affiliation to the League against Imperialism is not sufficient. Membership of the League must mean a realisation of the necessity to fight against Imperialism in all its forms.

We feel almost certain that the Congress will reaffirm its belief in national independence as India's goal, but what is really essential is to fight those immediate dangers which confront India's liberty in the shape of the seductive invitation to a Round Table Conference with your imperialist rulers to discuss fantastic schemes of a "Dominion Status" form of independence for India within the British Empire.

The real danger that lies ahead of the Congress is the sentimental persuasion to preserve a unity with imperialist organisations and reactionary individuals, whereas the clear and logical duty of the Congress is to put up an open and strenuous fight against them.

At this critical period of international imperialist rivalry and expansion, the British and the Indian peoples must not consider themselves alone. Both the Indians and the British have got to make it clear to the Arabs, to the Egyptians, to the peoples of China, of Java and throughout the world that they are themselves sincere in the fight against imperialism. We are counting upon the Indian National Congress to hold fast to its anti-imperialistic principles. We go even further and express the hope that the Indian National Congress will take steps, in co-operation with other bodies in India affiliated to the League, for the establishment of a broadly based organisation of the League against Imperialism with provincial and local sections and active mass support especially from working class organisations, and that these sections will be encouraged to take an active interest in all colonial problems.

This appears to us all the more necessary inasmuch as the British Colonial authorities are taking steps for the suppression of communications from the League against Imperialism in countries under British control.

For example, the Ministry of the Interior of Iraq, under British instigation, has secretly instructed the postal authorities in Iraq to destroy all communications from the League against Imperialism, and the order is still in force despite strong protests against it on the part of the Iraq Nationalists.

Again in Uganda, the British Editor of a local newspaper has been threatened with prosecution by

the Chief Secretary of the Protectorate Government if he should publish the press service of the League against Imperialism.

These instances bear indisputable testimony to the importance and value of the work which the League is attempting to do.

We wish success to the Indian National Congress. We ardently desire the freedom of the Indian people, and we trust that the Indian National Congress will adopt a firm attitude in so far as the proposals of the British Government for Dominion Status are concerned, and that it will refuse to enter into any negotiations whatever with the Government. To anti-imperialists the accepting of the principle of Dominion Status implies the acceptance of the Empire.

Furthermore, we rely upon the Congress to fulfil its clear duty to demand the immediate liberation of all political prisoners now in Indian jails, including of course the Meerut prisoners, who are all true fighters in the cause of India's independence.

From The Dutch Section of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, from Den Haag :

We have with great interest followed the implacable struggle of the Indian nation for its national independence. The recent events specially the reigning terror in India by the British imperialist Government have filled us with horror.

We admire the incessant manner in which the Indian Nationalists continue the struggle for independence against their imperialist oppressors.

We hope genuinely, that your struggle may result in a brilliant success, *i. e.*, the independence of India. We are hoping also that in the future you may develop more revolutionary force on behalf of your aim, more revolutionary power in order to struggle against all reformist leaders within your own ranks.

We want to assure you our great sympathy and solidarity with your struggle against the British oppression, which is at the same time a struggle againt World Imperialism, for the sake of all oppressed peoples and classes.

With revolutionary greetings.

From the League for the Protection of the Negro Race, Paris:

The International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism informs us that your Association will hold its annual session this month. We regret our inability to participate in it. But we convey to you our most fraternal sympathy and good wishes. We follow the debates of your Congress with lively interest, and we are sure they mark a decisive step towards complete and unconditional independence. It is not only the great sympathy of the Negroes of Europe that this message conveys, it is above all the effective solidarity of the humbled and martyred 'black' Africa, of the oppressed with India in the realisation of its national aspirations.

The recent declarations of the Viceroy of India, the exploits of the Labour Government in Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, China, South Africa show in a pre-emptory fashion what the oppressed can expect from British Imperialism. India will achieve her emancipation when it co-ordinates all the anti-imperialist forces, the courageous efforts of all her sons against co-operation with their English oppressors. Certainly in the course of your national upheaval you will be taxed as communists, anarchists and disturbers of the public order, etc. Do not halt or hesitate because of this, do not waste your energy in polemics often fratricidal. The fear in our days is that all movements of liberty among colonies are attributed to communism. The imperialists are very shrewd. It is necessary, however, only to expose them and you will establish your position The autonomy of the Indian people and British domination are irreconcilable compromises, are intended only as anæsthetics to your fighting power.

In requesting you to convey our greetings to all Congressmen, please accept our assurance of the deepest sympathy with oppressed India.

Long live the complete and unconditional independence of India.

From the League for the Defence of the Negro Race, Berlin:—

The German section of the International League for the Defence of the Negro Race sends its hearty and militant greetings to the Lahore Session of

the Indian National Congress. We Negroes from all parts of the African continent, who are organised in the above-mentioned League have set before ourselves the task of freeing the African race from the terrible oppression and exploitation to which they have been subjected at the hands of the Imperialist rulers of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal and until recently Germany. The revolts that are daily taking place in South Africa, East Africa, Gambia, Congo and other territories are but the prelude to the coming united effort of the African race to put an end once for all to Imperialist domination and to achieve their economic, political and social emancipation.

In this fight we, at one with the other oppressed races of the world, are watching with particular interest and anxiety the struggle of the mighty Indian people for National Independence, as the overthrow of British Imperialism in India is of decisive importance for the other oppressed people of Asia and Africa.

Our recognition of the necessity of conducting the struggle on an international scale has made us affiliate the "League for the Defence of the Negro Race" to the International League against Imperialism, which has been rendering considerable services to the cause of the African peoples.

We wish the Lahore Congress complete success in working out a programme for achieving National Independence which, as our experience shows, can only be realised by the active participation of the broad masses of workers and peasants.

From the Perhimpunan Indonesia, Leiden (Holland):—

We consider the opening of your Congress as the most solemn moment, on which the fate of your beautiful country for a great part will be decided. We have constantly followed the development of the whole Indian movement with great interest and with the genuine hope, that the absolute independence of India will be obtained; many obstacles and failures until this memorial day may hide, but they cannot extinguish or enfeeble the light of freedom that is eternal and divine, and to which all energy of every oppressed nation is

directed. We are convinced that for India's sons no sacrifice will be too great for the realisation of their ultimate aim.

We are cherishing the hope, that the Congress may succeed in a glimmering victory in its fight for India's freedom and for the rights of the oppressed nations ; for each victory of the struggling Indian nation and masses over the imperialism will have far reaching results on the world politics of to-day and on the very future of Indonesia.

From the Socialist Party of Persia, Tehran:—

We have come to know through the kindness of the League against Imperialism that your National Congress will hold its sessions from 27th to 30th December.

As there exist between us (peoples oppressed by the burden of British Imperialism) apart from historical relations, bonds very strong and sincere, we believe it our duty to express on this occasion and through this communication our most ardent desire first for unity among you, and then offer our assistance saying that, whatever importance you may give us, we are ready in the vow of your liberation from the English yoke, to help you as brethren, it matters not what means you recommend, provided of course it is not beyond our power.

Our position to-day, to put it freely and simply, is in our opinion, with a few exceptions relating to history and the organisation of our race, visibly similar to yours and in reality—*i.e.* it is really only by our joint efforts that we can be freed from English oppression.

And as we make no mistake about the present Cabinet of London we hope you will not relax your efforts and they shall most surely be crowned with a complete victory.

Profiting by this occasion we present once more, dear comrades, our most sincere and most fraternal respects.

From the International Committee for Political Prisoners, New York City:—

The members of this Committee, as a group of Americans organised to secure American help for those

persecuted in other countries for their political views, desire to extend greetings to the Congress through an Indian friend, Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar.

We have already expressed our friendship in a feeble way by sending one hundred dollars to help in the trial at Meerut and a letter of protest to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. We shall continue to render aid in any way possible, and assure you that you can count on us at any time that you or your representatives make any appeal for American help. We have no political cause to serve, but are interested only in the unrestricted right to agitate political and economic reforms of whatever nature.

With greetings to the Congress and again assuring you our interest and support.

From the American Civil Liberties Union, New York :—

We are sending you our fraternal greetings through an Indian friend, long resident in America, Mr. H. T. Muzumdar, because he has intimated to us that the Congress may consider the formation of an organisation similar to ours to struggle for civil liberties in India.

If you do undertake any such work along lines in which our experience may be helpful, we are only happy to aid you at long distance in any way possible. We have in this country an old conception of civil liberties brought here by the English settlers. From all we know of the history of India, the English who imposed their rule on your country left their conception of civil liberty behind. Indeed it is one of the ironies of history that the English, always so jealous of their liberties as applied to themselves, have never applied them to those they rule. Even here in the United States our dominant Anglo-Saxon class runs true to English form, tending to deprive weaker minorities of their rights.

With greetings to your Congress and assurance of aid in any work for civil liberties you undertake.

From the Congress Committee, Kabul :—

Congress Committee, Kabul, sent five resolutions specially requesting to sympathise with Afghanistan accept principle of world federation push on organisa-

tion and activity to achieve Independence.

From Kobe, Japan:—

Fight for independence.

From British Indian Association, Johannesburg (South Africa):

Executive British Indian Association wish Congress complete success in epoch-making deliberations consummating motherland's emancipation. Despite Indo-Union agreement repressive laws being entirely enforced inflicting serious hardships. Imperative their total repeal be demanded if lawful residents be sincerely accepted amongst Union nationals. Motherland'sprestige necessitates non-acceptance of all agreements involving inferiority status.

From Congress Committee, Sura:—

Congratulation wish success wire Congress decision independence. Indians rejected racial franchise demanding common.

From Indian National Association, Capetown:—

The time has come when the honour of India and the self-respect of Indians at home and abroad both demand independence of an ancient nation wish you every success at Conference.

From Patidar Yuvak Mandal, Nairobi:—

Wish success. Congress must strictly adhere to Madras resolution of complete independence.

From Krishna Mohan Maitra, Chicago:—

The Hindusthan Association of America assembled at the eighteenth annual convention at Chicago joins with you in the struggle for political, social and economic freedom of India. The whole world expects the Congress to redeem its pledge.

From Umshelat, Box 2903, Johannesburg:—

Wish Congress every success in momentous decisions to be taken to shake off shackles serfdom only free India could assert herself in world affairs.

From Federation, Johannesburg:—

South African Indian Federation extends fraternal greetings and expects Congress march onward freedom. Self-respecting India should never agree to settlement based on inequality and inferiority.

From the All Ceylon Indian Youths League, Kandy:—

At a special meeting of the All Ceylon Indian Youths League held on the 17th (December) the following resolutions were passed unanimously. That this league is of opinion that the reforms carried out in the Ceylon Legislative Council on the 12th December are a deadly blow on the elementary rights of citizenship of the Indians in Ceylon and therefore resolves to request the Indian National Congress to esponse the cause of their brethren in Ceylon by helping them to obtain equal rights with the Ceylonese with regard to franchise in Ceylon. That this League is of emphatic opinion that the Indians in Ceylon should continue to enjoy the protection of the Indian Government even after the conferment of the right of franchise to the Indians on a par with the Ceylonese and should not on any account renounce such protection as required in Lord Passfield's despatch.

From South African Indian Congress, Maritzburg:—

South African Indian Congress sends greetings to Indian National Congress wish success trust wise handling of critical situation will unify India and open new era of peace.

From American Association for Recognition of Irish Republic, Cleveland, Ohio:—

On behalf American Association Recognition Irish Republic wish your fight for complete Indian freedom success your cause is ours we salute you please acknowledge.

From Sri Guru Singh Sabha, Nairobi:—

Nairobi Sikhs heartily wish Congress success strongly oppose retention communal representation in any form in future constitution of India if unavoidable Sikhs must be given thirty per cent representation in Punjab under principle of common roll.

From Tafazzul Husain Rezmie:—

Hearty congratulations independence resolve Indian unity courage impressing America.

From East African Indian Congress, Nairobi:—

East African Indians entirely with Congress in struggle. Immediate achievement of only national destiny possible. Hope every son will unite stand unflinching fight for country's freedom.

From Mr. Rash Behari Bose, Yodobashi (Japan):—

Wish Congress success.

From Wilfred Whiteley, M.P.—

I respond with joy to your kind invitation of some days ago, and I will be happy to be numbered amongst those on this side who line up with our Indian comrades in their demand for Dominion Status.

We, of the British Labour Movement, desire justice for the people of India so that together, as partners in a great commonwealth, we might move forward to achievements which would otherwise elude our grasp.

Towards that end I believe the proposed Round Table Conference to be an essential and important step, and I venture to hope that the Indian National Congress will give its blessings to the Conference idea.

The kindliest of thoughts and the warmest of wishes.

From Mr. John Beckett, M. P.—

I wish the Congress every success in all the difficult problems they have to face, and the best of luck in attaining their objects.

The welfare and freedom of the Indian people is a subject very near to the hearts of many of us on the back benches of the Houses of Parliament. We welcomed the statement of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, and regretted deeply the qualifications made by the Prime Minister in his unfortunate letter to Mr. Baldwin, because we feel deeply the responsibilities our conduct in India for many years has created.

We look to the Indian National Congress to show us a line whereby India may attain happiness and prosperity, and thus good relations necessary to world peace and happiness may be preserved to relieve the position between employers and Indian workers both of whom have suffered under the same masters.

From Mr. Walter H. Ayles, M.P.—

It is with very sincere pleasure that I send very hearty greetings to my comrades of the Indian National Congress which is meeting at Lahore this Christmas.

Christmas time to us in England is a time of reconciliation and of re-union, and this year it should be for all our Indian comrades a time of hope. There is a new spirit in England,—a spirit that recognises that the days of the old imperialism are over, and a new era of co-operation has begun. Larger and larger numbers of people in England are determined that the right of the Indian people to control their own destinies on behalf of both themselves and humanity cannot only not be further denied, but must be happily considered and worked for.

We not only welcome the pronouncement of the Viceroy that Dominion Status is the policy of the British Government, but even more the fact that we are going to ask those who represent the Indian people to sit round the table with us to decide how that freedom can best be achieved.

For the first time in Anglo-Indian relations, we shall meet as equals, and I am quite sure that public opinion in England will heartily acclaim a fruitful and unanimous conclusion to the Conference deliberations. You have your difficulties as we have ours; we are facing ours, you are willing to face yours. It is for us not only not to deny but to assist you in this heavy responsibility that you are willing to undertake on behalf of your great people.

At this Christmas time our loving greetings go out to our comrades of the Indian National Congress who are so courageously accepting these great responsibilities, and we assure them of our whole-hearted and willing support.

From Major D. Graham Pole, M. P. (Hon. Secretary of the British Committee on Indian Affairs and Chairman of the Commonwealth of India League) :—

Indians of all shades of opinion have always resented the preamble to the Government of India Act 1919 in which it is stated that "the time and manner of each advance (towards responsible Government) can be determined by Parliament." Quite understandably Indians felt that this was a slight on them and maintained that they were best fitted to judge of the pace by which they should advance to the full measure of complete self-government as an integral part of the

British Commonwealth of Nations with all the freedom and privileges of that status. The die-hards in this country stood by the letter of the preamble, whilst Indians as firmly insisted on a Round Table Conference between representatives of their varying religions, political parties and interests, and the British Government, at which the whole matter could be discussed and thrashed out.

There is now a unique opportunity. We have a Labour Government installed at Westminster, with a courageous and imaginative Secretary of State who regards himself as the representative of Indian interests. An invitation has been offered to all political parties and interests in India to meet the Government here, and in a frank and full discussion at a Round Table Conference not merely to place their views before the Government but to advise them as to what are, in their opinion, the best steps to take to solve that most intricate of problems, the future government of India.

From this Conference no point of view will be excluded. I would beg my friends in India to accept this genuine offer, honestly and frankly made, and send delegations to London composed of their best men who are prepared to meet the Secretary of State in the same spirit he has shown.

What is the alternative? A barren agitation with spasmodic riots and—in the unfortunate possibility of a change of Government here—a policy of repression and "Black and Tan" Government that will make of India another Ireland. That will be merely playing into the hands of the die-hards and putting back for generations the day of freedom and equality for India, for which some of us have given much of the best of our lives. More and more bitterness and misunderstandings would inevitably follow.

I ask my Indian friends not to be put off by the fulminations in the British Press (of the *Daily Mail* and *Morning Post* type) of the O'Dwyers, Churchills, and Birkenheads. They represent a very small, though very vocal, proportion of the British public. The Labour Party is solidly in favour of Indian freedom and self-government and ranged behind them are many of the best of the Tories and Liberals. Lord Reading and Mr. Lloyd George by no means re-

present the most progressive part of the Liberal Party. Similarly Lord Birkenhead's views are diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Baldwin.

This is the opportunity we have been working for, for years. Do not let us down. On the contrary I beg of you to accept this invitation and so strengthen the hands of the friends of India, and complete the "wreck of Birkenhead."

From A. Fenner Brockway, M. P:—

I hope the Indian National Congress will realize that there is in reality a new spirit in the attitude of the British Government and that it will decide to take part in the Round Table Conference and insist there upon Dominion Status. The need on the British side is that the new spirit should be expressed in the administration of justice. Congress can rely upon a group of friends here pressing for an ending of the persecution of political opinion and for an amnesty.

From Mr. William Lawther, M. P:—

It is always difficult for those who are far off, to understand what is the opinion of those on the spot on any particular question, and although Indian questions have for generations been the subject of debates and discussions in the Mother of Parliaments, there yet remains much misunderstanding as to what are the desires of the Indian people.

Therefore the Indian National Congress has an unique opportunity of helping to bring before the great mass of the people in this country their considered judgment and opinions by accepting the invitation to the proposed Round Table Conference. Might I put it in this form, before coming to the House of Commons, I was a miners' representative, and the miners in this country never neglected an opportunity of putting forward their views before any assembly. No section of workers in the world have laboured more to redress the injustices they suffer from, and today we are within the border-lines of the beginning of the end of those injustices. And I feel that the steps that are being initiated by the Labour Government on Indian matters will likewise lead to the redressing of their grievances. No cause ever suffers from the taking of opportunities at all times and on all occasions to state their ideals

and principles. My message to you, my comrades of the Indian National Congress, is to follow the pathway, by way of a Round Table Conference, there to place your views on those subjects for which you have laboured so long and earnestly.

From William Bennett, M.P. :—

The present time seems to me to offer more hope and encouragement to the Indian people than any previous period.

I trust that nothing will be allowed to interfere with the fullest co-operation between all parties concerned.

I can assure you of the heartiest sympathy and appreciation of the demand for Dominion Status from all the members of the Labour Parliamentary Party with whom I am acquainted.

The Round Table Conference is an absolutely genuine invitation.

From John Scurr, M.P. :—

The time has come for every man and woman who sincerely desires the welfare of the people of India to do everything they can to promote a real understanding between the two nations.

I have always stood for the realisation of Dominion Status for India at the earliest opportunity; and it has been a matter of personal regret that the counsels of extremists on both sides have produced such a cloud of misunderstanding.

The Labour movement in this country desires to render justice to the peoples of India. It is wholeheartedly in favour of self-government.

How this ideal can best be carried out can be settled by the proposed conference between the representatives of the peoples of India and of Britain.

I trust sincerely that as a result of complete co-operation between these representatives the world may be able to hail India as a self-governing nation before the British Labour Government leaves office.

By love alone can justice conquer; by hate we only drift to worse disasters.

From James Barr, M.P. :—

I am most anxious to see India attaining full Do-

minion Status. Adapting a well-known poem of Robbert Burns, I would say:—

"Never but by Indian Hands
"Shall Indian wrongs be righted."

From Will Thorne, M. P. (General Secretary of National Union of General and Municipal Workers) :—

During my forty years in the Socialist and Trade Union Movement, I have always been in favour of the right of self-determination for the Indian peoples; more especially after digesting the late Mr. Hyndman's book on India.

I think the British Nation have everything to gain and nothing to lose by making the Indian Peoples responsible for their own Government.

From Ernest Thurtle, M. P. :—

I hope the National Congress meeting at Lahore will effectively demonstrate India's determination to achieve National freedom, and will at the same time show the world that she knows how to maintain national unity for the purpose of reaching this objective.

Indian leaders must necessarily be the best judges of the policy and tactics to be pursued in furtherance of the national cause, but, as an outsider, I would like to express the hope that it may be possible for the Congress to decide to be represented at the forthcoming Round Table Conference, in order that all whom it may concern may know, without misunderstanding, the programme for which the Congress stands.

From Peter Freeman, M. P., C. C. :—

Cordial greetings and every good wish for a successful Congress.

At the present moment India and Great Britain have been drawn closer together in mutual respect, understanding and comradeship than perhaps ever before to consider their respective interests and common ideals.

While realising the immense task before us, the many difficulties and obstacles to be overcome, the Labour Party is emphatic and united in its determination to see that justice shall be done to India and the claims to freedom, Dominion Status, and Self-Government shall be realised. *And these shall be given practical effect at the earliest possible moment.*

Only when India is freed from her bondage can that International Brotherhood by democratic government for which the Labour Party stands be brought about. At this critical moment we emphasize that decision. We shall stand by our declaration and our pledges whatever happens.

From Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. P.:—

The workers of England regard the workers of India as comrades in a common struggle for freedom from Capitalism and Imperialism. I urge the Indian leaders to co-operate with the British Labour Government, as I feel sure in that way lies the best hope of securing not only Dominion Status but equality of status. The time must come for both people when caste on the one side and colour prejudice on the other must give way to the ideal of freedom and equality for all.

From E. S. Palmer, M. P.:—

As a labour member of the British House of Commons I am glad to be supporting a Government having proper appreciation of the Indian National Congress point of view. The highest hopes and aspirations of the Indian people are nearer realisation today than ever. Self-determination is the general principle under which a Labour Government must operate and there can be no doubt India's demand for Dominion Status will be conceded at an early date.

From Ben Tillett, M. P. (Secretary of General Workers Union):—

I hope you will forgive my inability to write a long note but a very sincere and anxious wish is given to you and your Movement that freedom may come to the People of India, and that democracy may carry with it its own spiritual sense and responsibility and alliance with the workers of the world.

Anything I can do to help the workers of India shall be done.

I wish you all human blessings for the advancement of your great cause.

From S. P. Viant, M. P.:—

I believe that the time is with us when the most sincere of India's friends are willing, ready and

anxious to remove the obstacles which have stood in the path of freedom. The period in which we are living is full of promise and I am persuaded that providing we recognise the essential for progress namely, co-operation, ways and means will be found whereby the aspirations of the Indian people for Self-Government will be given legislative effect.

From F. G. Watkins, M. P. :—

During the recent years, the people of Great Britain have become more understanding with regard to the question of self-government in India, and this has become much more marked during the last twelve months. It is now true to say that in this country there is an enormous volume of public opinion in support of granting Dominion Status at the very earliest suitable opportunity. Everyone in the Labour Movement is praying that great and beneficial results may come from the forthcoming Conference. The right of all people to govern themselves in harmony with their own genius and traditions is a fundamental principle of the Labour Party, and by the application of that principle alone can the problem of India be solved.

A large contribution to the disentanglement of world complications can be made by the Indian People, and Labour would welcome their co-operation and fellowship in the task of creating a relationship between the Mother country and India based on mutual toleration and respect. I am confident that Great Britain will respond in the best possible spirit to all the aspirations of India which conform to the highest teaching of Indian philosophy and tradition.

From Marion Phillips, M. P. :—

Members of the Labour Party look forward to the entrance of India into the British Commonwealth of Nations as a self-governing Dominion. Therefore they have welcomed very warmly the proposal for a Round Table Conference after the presentation of the Simon Report and urge their Indian brothers to participate to the fullest extent. A representative conference will, we believe, help materially towards the establishment of Dominion Home Rule. May I as an Australian, add the eager hope that it will not be long before India and Australia, Commonwealth of the East and of the South,

are standing side by side in a world-wide federation with the British peoples of the West ?

From J. Horrabin, M. P. :—

I am very glad to send greetings to the Indian National Congress. I hope very much that the representatives of Indian National opinion will accept the invitation to a Round Table Conference and that this will lead to a better understanding between English and Indian peoples and provide a basis for a realisation of India's just demands.

From Frank Smith, M. P.:—

It will be a great joy for me to be able to do anything and everything I can towards bringing peace, happiness and prosperity to our Indian comrades, so that side by side, and hand in hand we may march together to make life all that it can and should be made with equality in all things for all.

From Wilfred Wellock, M. P. :—

The outstanding fact in the present Indian situation is that the Government has found a way of escape from what seemed like an impasse. In very difficult circumstances it has made possible co-operation between Indian leaders and itself. India having boycotted the Simon Commission, and the National Congress of last year having demanded Dominion Status within a year and threatened a drastic change of policy in case of default, while at the same time the constitutional position in Great Britain was such that no Government, and especially a minority Government, could make any declaration of policy on the Indian question until after the publication of the Simon Commission's Report, (which could not take place until the new year), the Labour Government appears to be in a cleft stick.

The Government extricated itself in a bold and courageous way. One might also say in a clever way. It issued a statement, through the Viceroy, which suggests a new policy, which suggestion was supported by the decision to call for a further study of the relationship between British India and the Indian States. In addition it made a definite advance as to procedure. While the Government's hands were tied in regard to policy, it was free to modify the procedure foreshadowed by its predecessor.

The Government having thus offered India the Round Table Conference for which she had often asked, it appeared to us that at last the way was opened up to a lasting settlement of the Indian question.

I personally welcomed the Government's statement and offer, and I am confident India will do the same. And I would ask India to remember that the Labour Government has gone to the limits of its power within the confines of the Constitution in the course of action it has taken. Thus one can scarcely imagine that the Government's offer will be refused.

Assuming India's acceptance, therefore, it remains for India and all the friends of India to co-operate together to secure a lasting settlement of this issue, which constitutes one of the outstanding problems of the age.

From the American Branch of the Indian National Congress:—

Sisters and Brothers of India, Fellow-workers in the cause of Indian Independence! Realising the tremendous significance of the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress where momentous decisions will have to be made concerning the future destiny of our country, our branch of the Congress wanted to participate in your deliberations. But unfortunately we have become painfully aware of the fact that India is "in bondage," by the refusal of passport facilities to our delegates by Mr. MacDonald's Government.

We are therefore being compelled to rely on two of our co-workers now residing in India to represent us and to present certain resolutions for your careful and deliberate consideration.

This branch of the Indian National Congress stands uncompromisingly for the absolute and unadulterated Independence for India, and we are advising our delegates to vote consistently for changing the object of the Congress to that of Independence without any limitation as to the means of achieving the same or any qualification as to time and policy. We stand for the absolute separation of India from the British Imperial system and we are hoping that you will give your unanimous support to this question, the most burning issue of the day.

This branch of the Indian National Congress stands not only for changing the object of the Congress to that of Independence, but we are definitely of the opinion that this Lahore session of the Congress should serve India's notice to the Independent Nations of the world that a new nation has been born in India and that Independent India seeks the hand of friendship and diplomatic recognition from the free nations of the world, and that the Congress pledges to maintain the same independence by all the available forces at our disposal.

The Declaration of Independence is no doubt a momentous issue in the history of the nation. And that issue can only be solved in only one way and that is by the positive action on your part now, before the year is over.

The Declaration of Indian Independence can have but one positive meaning to our people and that is the freedom of our people from economic exploitation by alien interests and the freedom from social and moral stagnation which has been allowed to exist by the British ruling interests in India who isolated India from the progress of the world, and whose callous indifference to social, moral and economic evils can hardly find a parallel in history.

Along with our Declaration of Independence the Indian National Congress will be confronted with the problem of bettering the economic condition of our people—the task which will have to be carried on, even while we will be consolidating our strength to achieve and maintain our independence. The Indian National Congress, as the trustees of the National interests of our millions, cannot any more ignore the task of taking the proper initiative and active leadership to devise ways and means of improving the economic status of our people in practical terms.

A prosperous India, where the difference between the rich and the poor will be as little as it is humanly possible, and where even the most unskilled Indian labourer will be getting a wage not less than wages received by workers for similar work in any part of the world should be the goal of the Indian National Congress. We maintain that this session of the Congress should declare for a national minimum wage

policy for the most unskilled Indian labour. While aspiring for the highest wages to Indian labour we believe that cannot be enforceable in a moment and therefore we urge you to give this policy the start and declare for five-rupees-a-day wage to unskilled labour right away and corresponding increases to skilled labour. This five rupees a day standard may appear to be arbitrary and drastic. But the situation in India is drastic too and demands drastic measures. Any industry, and employer, that cannot afford this social wage to our wage earners is a curse to our community. Labour is not a commodity but Labour should be paid on a social basis and not on the basis for marketable products. We firmly maintain that any wage below the five rupees a day standard is immoral and unsocial. Five rupees a day standard may be revolutionary—be it so, but let us make it a reality within a year. It is up to you, fellow-workers in India, to carry this message from Lahore and electrify the rank and file of our people who will then have a living interest in the success of your Congress. Our masses have kept themselves away from the National movement because our Indian National Congress had been afraid to tackle this economic problem in the manly way, in a way which will be of practical benefit to our people, who after all are the very people for whom we are all working. Time has come when our Congress should stop talking about the miseries of our people and begin doing something substantial and practical and something which will inspire the confidence of the mass in our work.

And to carry out this national minimum wage policy, it will be necessary to initiate and undertake a rationalised policy of industrial India to nth degree of its efficiency, utilizing labour saving modern machineries and utilizing power plants. We are living in the machine age and the power age. Let us keep India in the forefront of modern progress and not perpetuate the backwardness which is our greatest drawback today. Industrialised India alone can assure and sustain continuous prosperity to our people and give our people a better economic conception of life which is the very basis of our social and moral independence—and which industrialization can

be a possibility only on a high wage principle.

Indian Industry—Indian Labour—and Indian Nationalism must get together and we must understand the need of rationalised co-operation and co-ordinated responsibility of freeing India from economic bondage and consequent social and moral degeneration. The problem of industrialising India—on the high wage principle—can best be practically applied to solve our problems of life if we can evolve a system of marketing and distributing Indian manufactured products to Indian markets, to replace from the same foreign articles of necessity and luxuries.

The task of freeing India from economic bondage is a mighty difficult task, we admit. But no matter what may be the immensity of the problem we have to face it and solve it to the advantage of our National interests. It is up to you, the national workers of India to control and capture our markets for the Indian manufactured products. With this in view we have instructed our delegates to present to you for your serious consideration the resolution on Economic Policy and the authorisation of a "Supreme Economic Council for India." And we sincerely hope that you shall give your full support to this proposal to serve our people most effectively.

The task of giving birth to a new nation is a hard proposition, and as such it is up to us to control, dominate and utilize every available force which may be presented to us from day to day to the service of our people. From the time of our Declaration of our Independence to the consummation of the same no approach or avenue which may be used by us for our goal should be left unguarded and no opportunity should be allowed to slip by.

Until the recognition of our Independence by world powers, and until the actual transference of the administrative powers to our hands, the British authorities will be using the legislative assemblies and similar institutions to maintain their hold on India. We are firmly of the opinion that this session of the Congress should appoint a Legislative Committee of the Congress and give the mandate to the same to capture all the possible elected seats in the legislative institutions and dominate the same and utilize every position

of power or responsibility or power with responsibility including even ministerial positions. The utilization of such opportunity will be of great benefit to the realisation of our goal in the shortest time. The passage of the Sarda Bill is at least one positive achievement for the good of our people.

"Congress members of the various legislative institutions should be instructed to work for the enactment of laws sanctioning the Five Rupees A Day Wage Standards as our national minimum wage, prohibition of private money-lending and replacement of the same by co-operative banking institutions, enactment of tariff protection measures to foster industrialisation of India and restrictive measures to eliminate foreign domination of Indian markets, introduction of modern machineries to develop Indian industries and improve agriculture in the light of modern developments, to inaugurate co-operative marketing and distributing institution, for the efficient distribution of India's National products, for the general progress of India, to enact measures for the compulsory education of our boys and girls, and to fight for other national measures.

Our members in the various legislative institutions can also act in the negative way and check the various measures of the alien Government to strengthen their domination of India. In these measures they will be contributing their share for the furtherance of the cause of Indian Independence.

We go further and state that to boycott the councils will be suicidal to our national interest. Abstention of the progressive element from the various legislative bodies will only be strengthening the hold of the alien rulers with the co-operation of the moderates and the liberals. If to serve the people of India is the primary motive of the Congress, then we strongly urge that you, the delegates of this Congress, give a mandate for the capture of all elected seats, and form this Legislative Committee of Indian National Congress.

By advocating council entry we do not wish to mean that the entire programme of the Indian National Congress will be directed along legislative work. What we desire is that a group of workers must be prepared to serve the nation through the legislatures in cooperation with other departments of the Congress.

reate the atmosphere in the country along with the advocacy of the Five Rupees A Day Minimum Wage Standards which will compel everyone who wants to serve India through councils to work through and under the banner of the Congress. Create the situation that non-Congress aspirants for legislative positions will have no standing in the community. If you go out to the people with a programme of practical benefit to our people, we can assure you that by council entry programme you will be strengthening both the National Congress and the National Movement.

Our delegates therefore will be presenting a programme of Council entry which we sincerely hope will meet your approval.

While fighting for the consummation of our Declaration of our Independence through the Legislative Assemblies, and through the realisation of the Industrialising policy, this branch of the Congress urges you to form a Civil Disobedience Committee. This is the most positive policy of direct action and it should be launched immediately irrespective of consequences. Politics flow along crooked and diverse channels and never follow the chalked out path.

While on this subject we beg to draw your attention to the fact that perphaps you will be doing better by taking one item at a time for launching Civil Disobedience programme. To start with we suggest that you handle the campaign to stop the production of the poppy plant and stop the manufacture of opium. Not more than 400,000 acres of our country is reserved for the cultivation of the poppy plant. But the opium it produces is emasculating our babies in arms and our adults as well. 98% of babes born in the mill areas in Bomay are drugged and 90% of such drugged babies die before they are a year old. Launch your Civil Disobedience campaign on this issue and you will automatically move the hearts of the workers to your side and to our struggle for national independence. Choose your committee and give them the mandate to fulfil this programme. Civil Disobedience has tremendous potentialities, but when we go into it we must be prepared to go into it with a will and firm determination to carry out the work and must not be afraid of the consequences at the eleventh hour.

Again we say, when the people will find that you mean to better their economic and social status the rank and file will be ready to offer what is demanded of them but then you must show you mean business.

From the Declaration of Independence to the consummation of the same will be a period in which the Indian National Congress will be called upon to handle its foreign work most adroitly to win international recognition of the independent status of Free India. India cannot afford to be isolated. This is the task ahead of us. And unless and until India succeeds there the Declaration of our Independence will be but a mere shadow.

You delegates to this Congress, will have to face the realities and the immensities of the problem of work. You will from now on have to deal with foreign established governments on, terms of equality. You should march forward to superiority burning the bridges behind you of inferiority complex which beclouded the decision of our leaders in the task of foreign work in the past.

We believe and we maintain that from now on, national interests will be best served by adopting the policy of "no entangling" and by reserving to ourselves complete freedom of action to make friends of all and foes of none.

The National interests of India will best be served by adopting "a continuous foreign policy" programme to be conducted by a group of our experts. Foreign work is one of intrigues—subtly intricate, and deliciously complex and maliciously insincere. All foreign diplomatic understandings are for temporary purposes and are consummated on the basis of selfish interests of nations.

Open diplomacy openly arrived at can have no place in our foreign work. Those of us who had the practical experience in this line take this opportunity to tell you frankly that up to now the Indian National Congress has entirely ignored this most important work and that whatever work was done was done by some of the Indian Exiles and other serious thinkers.

Hence we suggest the adoption of the Foreign Policy Resolution and the authorization of Foreign Services Commission, which will be composed of experts

available in modern India.

This committee will have to train up ambassadors, envoys, and observers and their aides as the work progresses. This commission will be empowered to raise their own funds and administer the same for the maintenance of our embassies, legations and other foreign activities.

Our Foreign work is to be inaugurated immediately. When one nation speaks to another in international politics, it is done by one man to another and accordingly India must find out best available Indian to speak for India to other nations for the world. That is the reason why we must have our own ambassadors, envoys and observers and that can best be accomplished through this Foreign Service Commission.

Draft Resolution on National Economic Policy.

Whereas the present struggle for the political freedom of India can have but one honest meaning to the plain people of India and that is the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in this world, which can only be assured to them by an advanced standard of living and the sustained prosperity of our country, and

Whereas the Indian National Congress can best show in practical language its sincere interest in the welfare of the people of India by a straightforward, honest, and bold declaration of a National Economic Policy based on the most efficient Industrialisation of India and combined with a "Comfortable living and social wage" to the wage earners of India as the only fundamental basis of India's prosperity, and,

Whereas the continued prosperity of India can only be assured by a complete control of the domestic market being the most sacred inviolable private property of the people should be protected for Indian manufactured products by all possible means at the disposal of the people of India,

Be it therefore resolved that the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress hereby instructs the president, with the advice and consent of All India Congress Committee to form a "Supreme Economic council of the Indian National Congress" composed of

representatives of Indian Big Business interests, of Indian organized labor, and of the Consuming Public, to investigate, formulate and work out a scheme of efficient industrialisation of India and empower the same Economic Council to declare and uphold a national minimum wage for our wage earners;

Be it further resolved that this Supreme Economic Council of the Indian National Congress be also authorized to envolve a scheme of merchandising Indian manufactured products with a view to complete control of the domestic market of India for the benefit of the Indian people and thus to eliminate alien domination of our domestic market which is, and in the future should be reserved as a sacred trust for Indian manufactured product as the only and stable basis for the continued sustained prosperity of the Indian people.

Draft Resolution on Foreign Policy of Indian National Congress:

To protect, promote and further the interest of India and her nationals in foreign countries and to further the progress of the Indian Nationalist movement,

Be it resolved that the Indian National Congress hereby adopts the principles as a guide to its Foreign Policy and its Foreign Activities.

(1) That the Indian National Congress adopts the policy of "Independence of Action" in all Foreign Affairs and adheres strictly to the policy of "no entangling alliances" with any international organisation or movement and thus shall abstain from affiliating with or associating with any such international movement or organisation.

(2) That the Indian National Congress undertakes the responsibility of "Direct Indian Representation" in all the Capitals of the world, and hereby instructs its president, with the advice and consent of the All India Congress Committee, to form a "Foreign Services Commission of the Indian National Congress to be composed of five or more members with the authority to raise a substantial "Foreign Service Fund" and conduct the Foreign Affairs of Nationalist India from its headquarters situated within or without India according to rules and regulations to be devised by the same commission from time to time.

(3) That the Indian National Congress instructs its president, with the advice and consent of the All India Congress Committee and of the "Foreign Service Commission to accredit proper ambassadors, envoys and other representatives of Nationalist India to the Capitals of the world powers, with a view to promote, protect and further the interests of India and her nationals in these countries and also to establish such contacts with the established governments of those countries as will enhance the progress of the National movement of India and that the same Indian National Congress hereby authorises its "Foreign Service Commission" to maintain and sustain such embassies and legations out of the aforesaid "Foreign Service Fund" consistent with the dignity and prestige of India.

From Indian Oppressed Peoples Association, Nanking (China)

We, the Indian Nationalists in China, in co-operation with the oppressed humanity, are anxiously awaiting the destruction of British Imperialism. We know full well that unless it is destroyed there can be no peace on the face of the earth ; there can be no freedom for India and other enslaved countries.

As British Imperialism has taken, and is taking a very dangerous attitude in its National affairs, whereby no nation can make any move without disturbing the monster to its fury it is this function of British Imperialism that should be destroyed before it destroys every thing elseworth while in life.

It is grievous to think that those valiant Indians to whose courageous sacrifices the liberties of England are indebted for their existence, should themselves have been such dreadful oppressors, and capable of excesses contrary not only to the laws of any country, but to those of nature and humanity.

But alas ! Rowlatt Act, Martial Law, Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh and the Ordinances, were thus the rewards awarded by the civilized usurpers.

We, the Indian Nationalists in China, invite the attention of the Indian National Congress to criticize the shameful and hypocritical character of British

representatives of the Crown in China, for their intrigues so as to put an end to our propaganda and deport our members by their detestable tactics their dissimulation is rather hateful while putting strict restrictions even upon our home mails.

We, the Indian Nationalists in China congratulate S. Bhagat Singh and Mr. Dutt along with 32 members of the Meerut Conspiracy case for their sacrifices, and emphatically call upon the toilers and the exploited of the whole India to realize that, so long as Imperialism lasts, so long will new bloody catastrophies menace the lives of millions.

We appeal to the people of India through the Indian National Congress to do all that is in their power to have their rights realised and compel the British nation to leave India unconditionally.

NANKING
1st of December, 1929.

Indian Oppressed Peoples Association
President : **Bishan Singh**
Secretary : **Sadhu Singh**

From S. N. Ghose and R. L. Bajpai, New York :

Time has come now, when India's interests can best be served and protected by dissolving the political ties that bind India to what is commonly known as the British Empire ; and the progress of modern civilization can best be furthered by the establishment of an Independent India.

The rule of one race by another for the exclusive benefit of the latter, the domination of one people by another for the sole interests of the latter, and the subjection of one nation by another for the good of the latter, is the greatest immoral and unethical system that exists in the field of international politics today. It degenerates both the rulers and the ruled ; the exploiters and the exploited ; the subjecting power and the subjected nation. It is the greatest impediment to the progress of world civilziation which flourishes only on the contributions by the free and independent nations of the world.

The dissolution of such an immoral and degrading

system has become the paramount duty of every civilized nation and of every people for the cause of international justice and peace. It has become not only the duty but a solemn obligation and the revolutionary right for the people of India to assert their inherent power to dissolve the present immoral political ties which bind them to the British Imperial system, and replace it by a government, by, of, and for the people of India, free and independent of alien control and domination in any sphere of the activities of the Indian people.

The representatives of the people of India, assembled at the regular session of the Indian National Congress, at Lahore, India do solemnly undertake this serious responsibility and assure the free nations of the world that India is prepared to establish, achieve, and maintain that independence by all possible means, and pledge all the resources at the disposal of the Indian people to obtain our goal assuring the world that Independent India which is born today, will for ever be ready to co-operate with other nations to promote the progress of mankind and to further the cause of international peace and justice.

The British Government of India, which we are replacing today, existed against the interests not only of the people of India but of the world as well ; it existed not to protect the life and liberty of the Indian people but to oppress the one and suppress the other ; it had not been responsible to the people it governed and it never did derive the power to govern from the consent of the governed ; it existed solely for furthering the interests of the British people and in doing so, violated every principle of international morality and international decency ; it subjugated the people of India by questionable means, and after forcing that political and economic subjection, it maintained that subjected status by sheer brute force and all the trickeries of soulless, deceptive, deceiving politics ; it impoverished the Indian people to the depths of animality beyond the conception of mankind ; it destroyed the indigenous educational system of the once most literate people to

further illiteracy, encourage dogmatic superstition, religious fanaticism with all the attendant vices ; it prevented the natural progress of the country, so that India, which, once was at the foremost rank in the contemporary civilization of the world, and whose wealth was almost a proverbial expression of prosperity, is today, the poorest, the despised, and the most backward nation of the present day ; it accentuated social stagnation and moral degeneration of the people it ruled as it deliberately refused to interfere and support social and religious reforms of the land and confined its political domination to further the economic exploitation of the people for the interests of the British people; it destroyed Indian indutries by every conceivable means from the tactics involving physical incapacitation of the skilled workers of India to the manipulation of political tariff barriers both on the products manufactured in India as well as on the products exported from India for the sole and only purpose of creating a market for British manufactured goods in India ; it deliberately prevented the industrialisation of India transforming India into a purely agricultural country forcing 90% of the people to depend on the products of the land for making their livelihood, a fact unparalleled in the history of the world ; it killed the genius of the once glorious race by depriving them of all initiative and ambition denying opportunities and position of power and responsibility thus reducing our people into human serfs ! It emasculated the nation by maintaining the artificial isolation of India and denying our people freedom of speech, of press or of assembly and similar fundamental rights of humanity supplanting the same by censorship, repression and ruthless, relentless, remorseless political, economic and social persecution of the people ; it kept our people docile, submissive, ignorant, illiterate, impoverished, and morally and socially degenerate by maintaining a monopoly on the cultivation, production, manufacture and the distribution and marketing of opium, using the same control to drug our babies in arms and adults as well to make them bereft of manly virtues ; it fostered intoxicating drinking habits among our people

to further their degeneration and thus to drain away the meagre savings from the sub-normal wages of our wage-earners ; it made patriotism and nationalism a crime remunerating spying and betrayal of national interests; it filled Indian jails with political prisoners and it exiled patriotic national workers for political reasons ; it had created a double standard of justice and duality of ethics—one standard for the ruling interests and the the other for the ruled, creating a double standard of morals against the best sense of decency and humanity; it passed laws by decrees and enforced them by arms; it did not protect the interests of India and India's nationals in foreign countries where they were discriminated against in every possible way against the national honour of India; it did not protect the civil and treaty rights for Indians resident in foreign lands; it sought to promote and further anti-Indian sentiments all over the world by false and mischievous propaganda and wilful misrepresentation of India; it sought to misrepresent Indian opinion on international issues by delegating anti-nationalist representatives to the various international conferences, conventions and meetings; it sought to commit India in international undertakings against the national interests of India without the knowledge and consent of the Indian people; it had used and utilized Indian mercenary troops to crush the National Governments of other countries and to further the general imperialistic interests of its own. It had become the greatest menace not only to the progress of India but to the progress of the modern civilization as well.

We, therefore, the representatives of the people of India, acting in the name of and by the authority of the people of India, solemnly make this declaration, that India, by right and by virtue, is a free and Independent Nation and that Independent India undertakes the responsibility of conducting war, concluding peace, contracting alliances, establishing mutual political and commercial relations with other nations and of doing all other acts and things pertaining to the internal and external affairs of an Independent Nation. For the support of this declaration we pledge our lives, our honor, our fortunes, and all wo possess in this world—for our country and for humanity.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, ex-President, then moved the following resolution:—

"This Congress deplores the bomb outrage perpetrated on the Viceroy's train and reiterates its conviction that such action is not only contrary to the creed of the Congress but results in harm being done to the national cause. It congratulates the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the poor servants on their fortunate and narrow escape."

After speaking in Hindustani (see Hindustani section) Mr. Gandhi continued:-

Mr. President and Friends, I have been asked to give you the substance of what I have said, in English. In my opinion, it will be a good beginning if our resolutions dealing with the task before the Congress are passed unanimously. In appearing before you I have realized my responsibility in the matter to the fullest and my certain convicition is that the Congress will fail in its obvious duty if it does not record this resolution. You find the reason for it stated in the resolution itself. So long as the Congress creed remains what it is, namely, that we want to attain Swaraj, not by any means, but by peaceful and legitimate means, it is our bounden duty to take note of anything that happens in India in breach of that condition. You might be told, as I daresay you will be told, that when people who do not belong to the Congress organization and are not connected with it in any shape or form do particular acts which may be contrary to our creed we are in no way and in no sense responsible. Those who think like that have, I say in all humility, little sense of the tremendous responsibility that rests on their shoulders; and they have little sense also of the great status that belongs to the Congress. We either claim to represent the thirty crores of Hindustan or we do not. If we claim to represent them, as I, a humble Congress worker, most certainly do, and as I hope, you also do, then it is our duty to consider ourselves responsible for anything that any single person born in Hindustan may do and it does not matter to me in the slightest whether that person is a reasonable human being or whether he belongs to the C. I. D. I hope that you

consider C. I. D. Indians also to be our kith and kin. Every Indian we expect to convert by our deeds to our creed and use his services in the attainment of our goal. Not only that, but the resolution states, and I hope you believe it, that such acts do great harm to the national cause. I do not wish to take up your time by drawing your attention to the various landmarks in the history of the Congress, which would enable you to prove to your own satisfaction that each bomb outrage has cost India dear. You may say, if you wish to, that the reforms that were obtained could not have been obtained without bomb outrages or without violence. Let me tell you that every one of these reforms has cost far more than you would care to pay. We have paid millions in exchange for mere toys.

The Congress Resolution also congratulates the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the poor servants In my humble opinion it is a natural corollary to what has been said in the previous part of the resolution, that we congratulate the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party. We lose nothing by using common courtesy. Not only so; we would be guilty of not having understood the implications of our creed if we forget that those Englishmen, whether in authority or not who choose to remain in India are our charge, that we who profess this creed of non-violence should consider ourselves trustees for the safety of their lives. We have a tremendous military burden which is crushing the starving millions who are living in the 700,000 villages of India. That military burden is really not due to the necessities of frontier defence, but let me assure you, that burden is due to the fact that thirty crores of people are held bond-slaves by a few thousand Englishmen coming all the way from England. If we would get rid of this military burden at any stage, it would be a necessity of the case that we hold the lives of those whom we may even consider our enemies as a sacred trust. That is the clearest possible implication, in my humble opinion, of the creed of non-violence for the political salvation of India, and if you hold with me, then it is not only a

matter of courtesy on your part, but it is a matter of duty to tender our congratulations to the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the servants, and tender congratulation, if you will, to ourselves also. I hope that after having listened to everything that might be said against this resolution you will pass it unanimously and heartily. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

Dr. M. A. Ansari, (Delhi) speaking in Urdu supported the resolution amidst cries of 'Up, Up with Revolution' and 'Down, Down with Imperialism.'

(For Dr. Ansari's speech see Urdu section.)

Swami Govindananda (Sind) in opposing the resolution after speaking in Hindustani, said in English:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to say for the sake of my friends from Southern India and Bengal a few words in English. It is said that the creed of the Congress demands the condemnation of the bomb outrage on the Viceroy.

President:— I should like to remind you that there are many delegates who wish to address the house, and every speaker need not address in two languages.

Swami Govindananda: Sir, I shall finish as soon as my time is over. (*Cries of 'go on, go on, please.'*) It is said that the creed of the Congress demands the condemnation of the bomb outrage. I most respectfully submit that the creed of non-violence, to which the Congress has pledged itself, is simply for the Congress. This creed is not binding upon people who choose to stand outside the Congress, and it is the duty of the Congress to persuade the parties that stand outside the Congress not by condemnation but by sweet reasoning, by sweet arguments, to come round to our view of things. Therefore, I feel that my opposition to this resolution is in no way antagonistic to the creed of the Congress. I am as much a believer in non-violence as Mahatma Gandhi. I do not believe that opposing this resolution in any way is advocacy of the policy of violence. I also wish to emphasise that while the Congress is really the premier organization in the country, it does not represent every section of

political opinion in the country. There are the Liberals and there are the Revolutionaries as well, and just as we claim for ourselves the liberty of action to win our own emancipation, we must also give to others their own freedom.

It is said that this bomb outrage has done harm to this country. I submit that at this stage it is very difficult to say what is to the good and what is to the harm of India. When the true history of the liberation of India shall come to be written after India is liberated then alone will it be possible to say which party rendered greater services and which party brought India nearer to the goal of freedom and independence for which various parties in various ways have been working. I do not know; at least I do not claim this power of omniscience. I feel that only after India has realised independence will it be possible for us to compare and say which party was really responsible in the largest measure for the emancipation of this country.

One word more and I have done. While in this resolution you have got the condemnation of a man who threw the bomb on the Viceroy, I find that the Working Committee and the sponsors of this resolution have not had the time and the leisure to say even a word of sympathy on behalf of those innocent men who have been arrested, who had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the bomb outrage on the Viceroy— not a word of condemnation has been said about the Government that ordered the arrests of those innocent persons, not a word has been said in this resolution by way of sympathy with those children of God, not a word has been said in this resolution for the innocent volunteers and workers of the Congress who are being watched and molested in various ways. With these few words I beg to commend to you the throwing out of the resolution by an overwhelming majority.

President: I have received several names of those who desire to speak on this resolution, but as there is another very important resolution to be discussed, after two or three more speeches have been made I shall put the resolution to vote.

Dr. Alam (Punjab), in opposing the proposition

spoke in Urdu. (See Urdu section.)

Maulvi Habibur Rahman (Punjab) supported the proposition with a speech in Urdu. (See Urdu section.)

Mr. H. D. Rajah (Tamil Nadu) opposing the resolution said:

Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates, (*Cries of 'Hindi, Hindi' and 'Urdu, Urdu,' from several parts of the House*) I an sorry I am not—

A Delegate: Sir, I object. Mr Rajah is not a properly elected delegate.

President: I shall inquire into the matter and find out from the papers whether he is a properly elected delegate or not.*

Mr. H. D. Rajah: I am sorry I am not able to speak in Hindi or Urdu. I beg of you, my friends, to bear with me for only two minutes. (*Renewed cries of 'Hindi, Hindi' and 'Urdu, Urdu.'*) As I have explained to you, I am not able to address you in Hindi or Urdu, and I hope you will extend to me the indulgence that is due to me and permit me to address you in English. (*Cries of 'Hindi, Hindi' 'Urdu, Urdu' continued.*)

President: Order, Order, Mr. Rajah has already told you that he is unable to speak in Hindi or Urdu.

Mr. H. D. Rajah: Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates, I have already explaind to you that I am not able to speak in Hindi or Urdu, and now I am sure you will bear with me when I speak in English. I have come here to oppose the resolution that is now before you. As I explained in the Subjects Committee, it is a matter of common knowledge that, so far as the Congress is concerned, we firmly believe that this resolution should not have been brought here for discussion. What is the matter with which we are concerned ? As we know, in the past for many years the Indian National Congress was passing resolutions of loyalty to King George and other Emperors of India. Now a stage has developed in which we have all become anti- Imperialists in our outlook, and by a subsequent resolution Mahatma Gandhi will place before you, we are today on this auspicious occasion declaring complete indepen-

*The President subsequently inquired into Mr. H. D. Rajah's election and decided that Mr. Rajah had not been properly elected to the A. I. C.C., and was not therefore entitled either to be a member of the A. I. C. C. or a delegate.

dence meaning thereby complete severance of the British connection. We are not concerned here with the individual action of anyone—whether a man has thrown a bomb on the Viceroy or a donkey—we are not concerned with it. All I want to know is how is the Indian National Congress concerned with the affair? Every day the organized forces of British Imperialism in the form of military and police are throwing thousands of our young men into jails.

President: Mr. Rajah, you are not speaking pertinently and I therefore rule you out of order. You will resume your seat.

Mr. Rajah: I am sure you know what I mean. I have told you sufficiently. Now I oppose the resolution and I am sure you will throw it out.

Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon (U. P.) supporting the resolution spoke in Hindustani. (See Hindustani section.)

Baba Gurdit Singh, (Bengal) opposed the resolution in Hindustani. (See Hindustani section.)

Mr. M. K. Gandhi (ex-President) replied to the debate in Hindi. (See Hindustani section.)

(After Mr. Gandhi had replied, cries of 'Long Live Revolution' were heard from one side of the House.)

The resolution was then put to vote, and declared carried, 942 voting for and 794 against. The decision having been challenged, the President announced that another division would take place after the day's proceedings were over.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi then moved his second resolution which reads thus:—

"This Congress endorses the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders including Congressmen on the Viceregal pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for Swaraj. The Congress, however, having considered all that has since happened and the result of the meeting between Mr. M.K. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Confe-

rence. This Congress, therefore, in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the word 'Swaraj' in Article one of the Congress Constitution shall mean complete independence and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report to have lapsed, and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence for India. As a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed this Congress resolves upon a complete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and committees constituted by Government and calls upon Congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in future elections, and directs the present Congress members of the Legislatures and committees to resign their seats. This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress and authorises the All-India Congress Committee whenever it deems fit to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary."

(For Mr. Gandhi's speech see Hindustani section.)

Pandit Motilal Nehru, (ex-President), in seconding the resolution made a speech in Hindustani. (See Hindustani section.)

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, (ex-President), was then called upon to move his amendment. As soon as he entered the rostrum, objection was raised by a delegate on the dais that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya being on the Working Committee could not oppose the resolution moved by the Working Committee, in the interests of discipline, and asked for a ruling from the Chair.

President:—That is not a matter for ruling.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then moved the following amendment:—

"That for the whole of the resolution the following be substituted:—

"That the President of the Congress be requested

and authorised to convene an All Parties Conference in March or April in Delhi to consider the question of the Round Table Conference in all its aspects, and that the question of changing the creed of the Congress be postponed till the Conference has been held."

(For Pandit Malaviya's speech see Hindustani section.)

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Maharashtra) in moving his amendment said:—

Mr. President and Brother-Delegates,—First of all with your permission, Mr. President, I want to correct a mistake that has been committed by somebody. The amendment put against my name is with reference to the Round Table Conference, and that is what is printed here, but the amendment which I handed in yesterday relates to the boycott of Councils. The President, making reference to the papers, has corrected the mistake and has allowed me to move my amendment against the Council Boycott, and that I propose to move now.

Friends, it is rather unfortunate that the floodgates of this miserable controversy about the entry into Councils have again been raised. No one need introduce any heat or feeling or emotion in the discussion of this matter. Personally, I am a cool, calculating man, but also a man of earnest convictions. One of my convictions is, that it is politically unwise for the country to boycott the Councils. Now, what is the resolution coming before you? I may characterise it by saying, that it is the revival of an exploded stunt, and I predict that whereas the boycott of the councils in 19 1 received a large measure of support from the country, it is not going to be so this time. You must have seen it in the voting in the Subjects Committee yesterday and you may infer therefrom generally that the country will be equally divided upon this point—if the boycotters will not get a majority on their side in the country. The large measure of success which attended this boycott of Councils in 1921 was due to the fact that even those who voted against the resolution of Calcutta ultimately agreed to give a trial to this new political measure, and therefore it was that there was some success in that movement of boycott of Councils at the time. But you will remember that that was in 1920, and even before.

three years had elapsed a movement was started in the country to repeal the boycott of Councils and men like the late Deshabandhu Das and Mr. Vithalbhai Patel joined that movement.

A Civil Disobedience Committee was appointed. It went round the whole country and as a result of the investigation, you find two able minutes, one by Mr. Patel himself, who worthily occupies the chair of the Assembly, and another by Pandit Motilal Nehru than whom a better advocate of the Council entry cannot be found. Since 1924, testimony is borne by Mahatma Gandhi himself that the work done by Congressmen in the Councils has been satisfactory. Now standing here Pandit Motilal Nehru wanted to say a word of depreciation about that work, but he could not be unfair to himself and he had to bear testimony, that during the last few years, the work inside the Councils by Congressmen has been satisfactory, but he said that, so far as independence was concerned, not one inch of ground was covered. I say in reply to that if you will consider the amount of work done by Congressmen inside the Councils, I will claim that the success that has attended the other measures of the Congress has also not gone beyond one inch or perhaps half an inch. It seems as if this Council question is fated to evoke an occasional exhibition of feeling, and we have seen ridiculous exhibitions of 'walking in' and 'walking out' by the Congress Party members in the Legislatures. The position, therefore, is this, that arguments in favour of Council entry have been exhausted, reason has been fatigued, experience has given its judgment, but obstinacy is not yet conquered, and we want to conquer that obstinacy. Therefore, to characterise the position, I will repeat exactly what I said in the Subjects Committee yesterday, for the information of a larger number of people here, that party vendetta in this matter cannot go further, political unwisdom cannot go further and mental perversity also cannot go further, than it is in trying to repeat the boycott of the Councils. There are some facts underlying the proposed boycott of Councils. The first is with regard to the people in the Councils. In all fairness to them I must say that they have given no cause for disappointment. They stood

by the nation on principles throughout. There may be quarrels here and there among the parties and want of discipline, but that has not exceeded the quarrels and the want of discipline in other departments of the Congress. People in the Councils have done all that should be done in a constructive manner; they have actually supported and worked for the constructive programme also, and as for obstruction, they have carried out obstruction on a large scale in order to deserve the confidence of the country in that respect.

Now, there is another fallacy, and that is with regard to the people who are outside the Councils. It seems to be supposed, that those people who do not enter the Councils devote all their time and energy and money for advancing the constructive programme of the Congress. But this is not a fact. I may say that those who have not entered the Councils have all along shown a sneaking kind of partiality for the Council work and for the assistance to be derived from Councils. Though the Congress asked them not to intervene in elections, they did intervene, and if anything for the public advantage was to be obtained from the Councils they sought the assistance of the people in the Councils. That was against the discipline of the Congress. Therefore, what I mean is this, that this sort of boycott is useless, and you need not plead in its favour the excuse that more work will be done in the country by boycotting the Councils. For after all in this human world workers are workers and shirkers are shirkers. Workers will always work and shirkers will always shirk whether they go into the Councils or not.

With regard to the Legislature, I will say this, that it is the supreme power-house of this Government, wherein power is created for use in the legislative, executive, judicial and administrative departments. Therefore, if you want to organize a campaign against this Government and to lead an attack upon the Government, it will be very unwise to boycott the Legislatures. Your first objective in this offensive campaign should be to capture the Councils where all this power is produced. Or to vary the analogy, take the simple example of dacoity. When dacoits want to enter a house and loot it, what do they do? Some enter the house, some remain outside; some work inside and some outside the

house, and they serve the common purpose of looting it. Similarly, some people should enter the Councils and some should remain outside, and both should come to an understanding that the work inside and outside should be correlated for the benefit of the country as a whole. Take the case of Sinn Feiners of Ireland. There they fought for absolute independence—not even for this limited Free State that they have now. They have entered the Councils and through the Councils they wanted to work out their Independence. Here is an example for you to imitate.

My last word to you is this. Even supposing there are some who can work only through the Councils and others who cannot work through the Councils, why, for God's sake, in the name of the country, should there not be a friendly understanding between those who are fitted to work in the Councils and those who are not ? In this world God has created people of different dispositions, different characters and different mentalities. The capacities and capabilities of people also differ. Why should there not therefore be an all-round understanding ? You do what you can do; let me do what I can do. Let us join and shake hands therefore in the cause of the country. That is my appeal to you, and I hope you will unanimously support my amendment about removing the boycott of the Councils.

Chaudhri Afzal Haq (Punjab) then moved the following amendment :—

"That the consideration of this resolution and other kindred resolutions be postponed till April 1930 or to any subsequent date which the Working Committee might fix."

(For Chaudhri Afzal Haq's speech see Hindustani section.)

Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose (Bengal) then rising to move an amendment said :

The amendment which stands in my name and which I have the honour to move this afternoon reads thus :

"In pursuance of the resolution passed at the last session of the Congress held in Calcutta this Congress now declares that 'Swaraj' in the Congress creed means full independence imp'ying thereby complete everance of the British connection.

"In order to bring about the overthrow in India of British Imperialism and its Indian allies and achieve complete independence this Congress resolves on the one hand to carry on a ceaseless campaign in favour of Independence, with a view to establishing a parallel Government in India and on the other hand, launch a campaign of Civil Disobedience including Non-payment of Taxes campaign and general strikes wherever and whenever possible.

"With a view to giving effect to the above twofold programme, this Congress calls upon the people of the country to undertake at once the task of organising the youths, the workers and peasants and other oppressed sections of the Indian people.

"In order to ensure concentration on the above programme and in conformity with the new Congress creed, this Congress declares a complete boycott of Central and Provincial Legislatures, Committees appointed by the Government, Local bodies (including institutions like Port Trusts) and law courts and calls upon Congressmen to abstain from participation in future elections, upon present members of the legislatures, Committees and local bodies to resign their seats and upon lawyers to suspend their practice forthwith.

"This Congress further authorises the All India Congress Committee to give effect to the above programme according to the circumstances prevailing in the country and to meet any situation that may arise while executing the above programme."

Sir, before I proceed to lay my case before this House, I would take the opportunity of conveying my cordial and hearty thanks and my gratitude to Mahatma Gandhi for coming forward to move the resolution which advocates clearly complete independence. At the same time I stand before you this evening to move an amendment to his resolution because I believe that the programme laid down in his resolution is not such as will carry us towards the goal of complete independence. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to lay before you an amendment which is one consistent whole, an amendment which is in keeping with the spirit of the times, an amendment which I have no doubt will find favour with at least the younger generation in this country. Sir, you will find that my amend-

ment has been divided into several paragraphs. In the first paragraph I have defined what we are henceforth to mean by Swaraj, and I have further defined full independence to mean complete severance of the British connection. In the second paragraph I have laid down a programme which in the present circumstances of the country appears to be the most advisable for us to adopt. That programme, as you have just heard, is the constructive part as well as what might be termed the destructive part. In the constructive part of that programme, the amendment says:—

"In order to bring about the overthrow in India of British Imperialism and its Indian allies and achieve complete independence this Congress resolves on the one hand to carry on a ceaseless campaign in favour of independence with a view to establishing a parallel government in India."

Sir, I do not see how we can arrive at our goal of independence except by setting up in the first instance a parallel government in this country, a government established on perfect good-will. I mean the good-will of the people of this country. I shall only remind you about the example of the Sinn Feiners in Ireland who, when confronted with a situation similar to ours in this country, began their fight by setting up a parallel government in their country. But it is not simply because I want you and I want my countrymen to emulate the example of Ireland that I have talked about a parallel government. Apart from the example laid down by Sinn Feiners in Ireland, it stands to reason that this method, namely, this method of setting up a parallel government in this country is, at least in the present circumstances, the only method which can take us to our goal of independence. That, therefore, is the constructive part of the programme.

Then I come to the destructive part, the part which refers to a fighting programme, and therein I say:—

"And on the other hand, the Congress resolves to launch a campaign of Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes and general strikes wherever and whenever possible."

Sir, as long as the creed of this Congress is to adhere to non-violence, the only method in my humble

opinion is one of civil disobedience, which will include not only non-payment of taxes but also general strikes.

In the next paragraph I refer to the work that we shall immediately have to undertake if we are to give effect to the two-fold programme and I have therefore said:—

"With a view to giving effect to the above two-fold programme, this Congress calls upon the people of this country to undertake at once the task of organising the youths, the workers and peasants and other oppressed sections of the Indian people."

Sir, I believe that if we are to make the Indian National Congress a national and virile fighting body, we shall have to bring into our fold large sections of our countrymen who at the present have stood aside. We have our *kisans*, our peasants; we also have our workers and our youths, many of whom belong to the middle classes; and many others of the poorer classes of our community; and I believe it is a fact which we cannot ignore to-day that these sections and other oppressed sections of the people of India have not thrown in their lot with us, have not joined this fight for freedom. These sections have their own specific grievances, some of them economic in character, and some social, and until we organise these sections on the basis of these social and economic grievances I do not see how it is possible to harness them into this fight for freedom. It is only when the Congress takes up not merely the political grievances, but also the social and the economic grievances to which our countrymen are subject today, not till then, can we bring into our fold these large sections of our community; and until we are able to bring them into our fold, until we are able to harness their energy, I do not see how it will be possible for us to achieve the political and social and economic emancipation of India. I therefore believe that the times require a new programme, a programme which the youths will welcome from the bottom of their hearts, a programme which our *kisans* will welcome as their own programme, a programme which our industrial workers will also welcome as their own programme; and I will go further and say that there are other sections of the community who have grievances, some social, some economic, and some political in character,

who also have to be brought into our fold. As an instance, I will refer to the so-called depressed classes of India. Until the Congress is able to take up their fight, and is able to identify itself with their cause, I do not see how you will be able to bring the large sections of the so-called depressed classes of India into the fold of the Indian National Congress.

Sir, in the next paragraph I have referred to the conditions which will make it easy for you to start the government to which I have just referred and I say—

"In order to ensure concentration on the above programme and in conformity with the new Congress creed, this Congress declares a complete boycott of Central and Provincial Legislatures and Committees appointed by the Government, local bodies (including institutions like Port Trusts) and law courts and calls upon Congressmen to abstain from participation in future elections, upon present members of the Legislatures, Committees and local bodies to resign their seats and upon lawyers to suspend their practice forthwith."

Here is a programme of complete and all round boycott. I believe that if we are to make the boycott effective, if we are to make the boycott intelligible, we shall have to go in for a programme of wholesale boycott; and after withdrawing from these bodies we shall be able to concentrate our whole time and energy on the task before us, namely, the task of achieving Independence for India. Sir, I do not think that it will be of any use to take up one item in this programme of boycott, leaving others as they are. In the first place it will not be consistent with our creed of independence to go and practise in the law courts; it will not be consistent to go into at least some of the local bodies in which, like the Corporation of Calcutta, you are by the rules required to take the oath of allegiance in a manner exactly similar to the oath of allegiance in the Councils and in the Assembly. Therefore if you are to be consistent in the matter of adhering to the creed of Independenee, you will have to shun once for all these bodies wherein you are required to take the oath of allegiance.

Then, Sir, there is another reason for which I would like you to give up these bodies. The task be-

fore us is so arduous, the responsibilities on our shoulders are so great that we shall have to concentrate our whole time and energy on the programme that we shall adopt. Consequently, for the purpose of ensuring concentration on the programme it will be necessary for us to give up these bodies and take up the programme whole-heartedly. It is for these two reasons that I would advocate at the present stage a complete and wholesale and all-round boycott of these bodies. But I would also like to submit at this stage that if you are not prepared to go in for complete boycott, it will be no use for you to boycott simply the councils and leave local bodies and law courts as they are, and other bodies like port trusts. After all, Sir, let us be consistent: let us go in for complete boycott or none at all. I am an extremist and my principle is all or none. If I am to advocate a policy of capture, I would like to capture every public body. If I am to go in for boycott, I shall go in for a complete boycott and concentrate my whole time and energy on some other programme. It is for these reasons that I would earnestly plead in favour of a complete boycott of the bodies referred to above.

There is another point to which I shall refer in this connection. I believe most of us feel that it is not consistent from the strictly moral point of view to adhere to the creed of independence and at the same time to enter public bodies where you have to take the oath of allegiance. At the same time, Sir, I would like to say that my personal conviction is not quite the same. I believe that in politics it is some times necesary for you to bow down before the exigencies of the times. You know there was a time when the Sinn Feiners of Ireland refused to take the oath of allegiance to occupy their seats in Parliament. You also know that of late the Republicans have modified their programme and have now decided to enter the Irish Free State Parliament even after taking the oath, in order to carry on the fighting within. You also know that the Communists in the British Parliament, a few years ago—there are none to-day—sat in the House of Commons after taking the oath of allegiance, though they know and every one knows that they did not in their heart of hearts own allegiance to the constitution of the day

But the reason why they took the oath and went inside was simply because they had to bow down to the exigencies of the situation and thought it advisable to carry on the fight within. That is why I say that my personal opinion is that from the practical point of view it is not quite inconsistent to subscribe to the creed of independence and at the same time to carry on the fight within the public bodies. But I do recognise that public feeling and public opinion in India today requires the complete boycott of these bodies and that is why I unreservedly say that if we are to adopt the programme to which I have just referred, it is necessary and essential that we should go in for a complete boycott such as I have mentioned.

Sir, before I conclude, I shall say a few words with regard to the resolution which Mahatma Gandhi has moved. You will find therein in the preamble that you are asked to endorse the action of the Working Committee, in the matter of subscribing to the Delhi Manifesto. It is for you to consider whether today, in the year 1929 on the 31st December, you are prepared to endorse the action of the Working Committee. For myself I have not endorsed it and I am not prepared to advise anyone to endorse it.

Then there is another clause in the preamble which says that we should appreciate the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for Swaraj. There again it is for you to consider whether on the 31st December 1929 you should go in for an appreciation of the efforts of the Viceroy of India. Later on, you will find that the resolution states that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. Does this clause mean that we are to abandon the Conference which has been misnamed a Round Table Conference, only in 'the existing circumstances'? Mahatma Gandhi was kind enough to give an assurance in the Subjects Committee that as far as he was concerned, there was no idea, no intention of ever going into this Conference. It is for the House to make it perfectly clear whether in these circumstances it is necessary at all to retain this phrase 'in the existing circumstances.'

Then, Sir, I would refer to the phrase Round Table Conference. I do not know why our countrymen are so pleased about calling it a Round Table Conference. I would not call it round. I would rather call it square; it is certainly not round. If I understand its meaning, a round table conference is a conference between two belligerent parties, between plenipotentiaries representing two opposite sides. I ask you, are the people of India invited to send in their representatives with full powers to negotiate with the representatives of the British Government ? Are we really sure that the conclusions arrived at, at this conference, are to be ratified by both parties ? Are we sure that the conclusions of this conference are not to come up for reconsideration before the British Parliament ? You all know that when treaties are drawn up—when peace was arrived at between the people of South Africa and the British Government, the conclusions arrived at at that conference were regarded as sacred by both parties; and I know it for a fact that in the case of South Africa, the constitution drawn up at the conference, in spite of its grammatical errors, had to be ratified by the British Government, and members of the British Parliament could not even correct the grammatical errors in that constitution. Sir, that is what a round table conference means. What is the character of this conference ? The Simon Commission and its paraphernalia are all to be there. The conclusions of this conference are to come up before the British Parliament. Not only that; it is not merely the people of India who are to send their representatives to this conference; the European Chambers of Commerce and the Ruling Princes, I understand, are also to be represented there. Sir, is there any fight going on between the British Government on the one side and the European Chambers of Commerce or the Ruling Chiefs on the other ? Sir, is there any fight going on between the British Government on the one side and our loyalist friends on the other? I know of no such fighting going on. Why then should these parties send their representatives to this conference ? Therefore I say this conference is not a round table conference. But unfortunately the people of this country insist on calling it a round table conference, and the Britishers are equally insistent on not calling

it a round table conference. I believe that if you carefully scan the speeches of responsible statesmen in England, you will find that they very carefully avoid the expression 'Round Table Conference,' and there are valid reasons as to why they do so. That is why I beg of you not to use the phrase Round Table Conference.

One argument more, Mr. President, and I have done. The resolution which Mahatma Gandhi has moved refers to the constructive programme as the method whereby you are to achieve the political emancipation of India. I would like this House to consider whether the constructive programme which the Congress has been pursuing for the last few years is something which is sufficient to enable us to reach the goal of complete independence. No doubt, there is a reference to civil disobedience at the end of that resolution, but in reply to that I would submit that civil disobedience will never come until we can organise the workers and peasants and the oppressed sections and the youth of India on specific social and economic issues. That is why I say that if we are to make the resolution effective, if we are to arrive at our goal, the goal of independence,—it is our duty to see to it that we adopt a programme which is effective and which is sufficient to enable us to reach the goal which we have laid down before us. Sir, that is why I say that the programme which the main resolution has laid down is not sufficient and it is necessary to lay down another programme which will be in keeping with the spirit of the times and which will be welcomed by the youths and the workers and the peasants and by all the oppressed sections of the people of this country. I believe that if this programme is adopted then only shall we be able to carry on an effective campaign in favour of independence. Last year, at the Calcutta Congress, we wanted the creed to be changed to independence. It was put off. I would ask you to consider what we have gained by putting it off for one year. I would beg of you to consider whether it would not have been wiser to have changed the creed one year ago and to have pursued a campaign in favour of independence for the last twelve months. I do not know whether the House will accept my amendment. But in my mind there is no doubt

that even if this amendment is not accepted in this Congress, God willing, it is going to be accepted in the near future, and most probably in the next Congress. I believe that the programme which the main resolution has laid down is not an effective programme. I believe it is not a programme which will find favour with the younger generation in this country and that is why I would beg of Mahatma Gandhi and the supporters of this resolution to take stock of the times, to consider the present altered atmosphere of India and to consider also the feelings and sentiments and ideas which now move the minds and hearts of the younger generation in this country. There is still time to consider all these facts and I do hope that after considering all these facts it may be possible for you to adopt the amendment and thereby make effective the goal which Mahatma Gandhi has placed before you, I mean the goal of complete independence. I once more thank Mahatma Gandhi for presenting before you this goal. My only object in moving this amendment is to make it possible for us to attain this goal as soon as possible and with the least delay. I thank you for your patience.

Dr. Muhammad Alam (Punjab) spoke in Urdu in moving the following amendment:

"Omit the words 'and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards the settlement of the national movement for Swaraj' from the resolution."

(For Dr. Alam's speech see Hindustani section.)

Mr. H. D. Rajah: Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates,—I beg to move the following amendment: (*Cries of 'no, no'*):—

"After the words 'Constructive programme of the Congress,' add

'And take up immediately the work of organizing labour with a view to bringing about general strikes thereby paralysing the Government machinery, organizing peasants and other sections of oppressed Indian people.'

Mr. President, I had a talk with Mahatma Gandhi on the basis of this amendment and he told me that this amendment was acceptable to him. But because the Working Committee and the All-India Congress

Committee have not accepted it, this must be brought in as a special amendment in the next meeting of the Subjects Committee. You know when there is the independence resolution. (*Uproar and cries of 'no, no and 'stop'.*)

President: I do not know what the Delegates are objecting to.

A Delegate: Our objection is that Mr. Rajah is not a properly elected Delegate.

Mr. H. D. Rajah: There must be an automatic programme with a view to carry out our object if we are to achieve Independence, and for that we have to organize the oppressed sections of the Indian people and unless we bring them into our revolutionary programme there is no chance of achieving anything. (*Uproar and cries of dissent.*) Here is a constructive programme and I beg of you to consider this part of the amendment and see that it is carried unanimously. (*Continued cries of 'no, no.'*)

Then the next amendment I have to put before you is to delete the portions referring to the endorsement of the action of the Working Committee and the Round Table Conference. (*Cries of no, no.*)

President:—I appeal to the audience to keep quiet until I have seen whether Mr. Rajah is a properly elected delegate or not. If it is found that he is not a properly elected delegate his amendment will fall through.

Mr. H. D. Rajah:—You are all aware of the Delhi Manifesto and all that has happened after it. M. Wedgwood Benn was clever enough to say the Dominion Status was in action in India before he mas his declaration. From that day onwards we were be upon having a certain dynamic programme and I could only subscribe to the anti-Imperialist programm namely complete and full Independence. We have be carrying on our agitation, and we never thought for moment that British Imperialism would come to the compromise with us so suddenly and so easily, as a or sult of which some of our leaders and others said the were prepared to work only on a basis of Dominion Constitution; but I must say that there was no reference to Dominion Status. So disappointment was

caused, not because the Viceroy or Mr. Wedgwood Benn was wrong but because we misinterpreted that proclamation and the statement with it. An Imperialist Viceroy who is the agent of British Imperialism in India cannot be expected to discharge his duty in the true fashion. I do not understand why a Congress of our type need go out of its way and congratulate the Viceroy. I most earnestly request you to consider my amendment in the light of reason and not of personalities.

I would also entreat you to understand the real implication of congratulating the Viceroy. If the congratulation had come from Sir Phiroze Sethna or Mr. Jayakar or Mr. Jinnah or men of that school of thought I would have no objection whatever, but when you are launching on a dynamic programme to achieve complete independence, I do not find that there is any reason why we must go out of our way to say that a Viceroy who is the representative of British Imperialism should be congratulated by such an august body as the Indian National Congress. As a matter of fact, you know the Viceroy has applied the knife of repression with one hand and dealt out sweet words with the other. Ever since the declaration was made more than 20 arrests have been made, I have a record of it in my hand. On the eve of the Congress at Lahore 8 young dynamic revolutionary workers were arrested and taken away. You do not consider this aspect. Whoever exposes unflinchingly and courageously the actions of this British Imperialism, he is spirited away and you are left in the lurch without any real statesmanship or guidance. Imperialism is bent upon crushing you and defeating your object. Take up the challenge and fight the issue till you attain complete independence. Do not congratulate the Viceroy, do not congratulate Governors, do not congratulate any Imperialist, even the Imperialist Labour Government in Great Britain. The attitude of mind taken in the preamble of the resolution is very subtle. I want you to understand the implications of that reasoning and in the light of what I have said, to delete the words in the resolution which I have mentioned. With these few words I ask your permission to move my amendments.

Mr. K. Madhavanar (Kerala). Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates!

My amendment is to delete the clause relating to the boycott of legislatures. I feel that it is unfortunate that this should have found a place in this main resolution. The resolution ought in the first place to have been concerned only with the question of Independence; then there would have been practically no opposition at all to it, and it could have been disposed of in a few minutes notwithstanding the opposition of even Pandit Malaviyaji. But as it is, unfortunately several amendments have had to be moved to this resolution. Now, this question of the boycott of legislatures has a history behind it. In the Bombay meeting of the A.I.C.C. it was managed to empower the Working Committee to do what it deemed fit in the situation then; and soon after, it resolved that the members of Legislative Assembly and Councils should resign their seats, because the life of the Legislatures had been extended, because Lord Irwin had cast to the winds the word of pledge given to the leaders of the Assembly Swarajya Party. Of course, no such reason is advanced now. Here the boycott of Councils is advocated on quite a different ground, no doubt; but still this history of wounded dignity seems to be at the back of it. It would have been wiser in any case to treat this matter separately. Now the question is whether we are ready to enforce this resolution among the rank and file of Congressmen in all the provinces. We see there is a section of Congressmen who are peculiarly fitted to do Council work, and for whom there is no other work possible. In Madras at least I know that this part of the resolution is going to be a dead letter. If Councils are to be boycotted as stated in this resolution, there are other institutions which should have been equally boycotted.

With regard to taking the oath of allegiance in the Council, I need not repeat the argument of our friend Mr. Subash Chandra Bose who has said that we may not hesitate to do what the Irish Republicans who stand for nothing short of complete Independence have been doing in this respect. In my opinion it is not really inconsistent with their creed of Independence

for a people like ourselves placed at such disadvantage and pitted against such a powerful Government, to take the oath of allegiance and enter the councils and still fight for Independence. It is a simple formal affair.

Then again the periodical electioneering campaigns givs us a fine occasion to carry the message of the Congress to millions of people in the country. In Malabar, I may tell you, the tenancy question, so vital to the millions, was taken up by the Congress members in the Madras Legislative Council, and much of the influence the Congress commands in our province is due to the belief among the people that such beneficent means as the recent tenancy legislation had been carried out in the Council by the efforts of the Congress members. If all the seats in the Councils are captured by Congressmen, much good can be done to the country. I should request you to delete the clause relating to boycott of Councils, lest it might adversely affect the voting on the main issue of Independence also. It will be a misfortune if this clause is not deleted from the main resolution. That is all I have to say.

Mr. Govindachary (*Andhra*) :—Fellow-Delegates! There are two amendments which I want to propose here. The first amendment is this—to delete the words 'in the existing circumstances' from the resolution. That I now withdraw. Though unable to follow Mahatmaji's speech in Hindi I gather that there will be no more talk of a Round Table Conference hereafter and that no negotiations will be carried on on the basis of Dominion Status—and the Dominion Status business is buried and no more alive—having taken that assurance from Mahatmaji I think we need not worry about those words. So I withdraw that amendment.

Coming to the next amendment, which is to stiffen the resolution, I wish to add the boycott of law courts also. The resolution proposed by Mahatmaji is to boycott the Legislatures. I want to boycott the law courts also. Having now changed the creed of the Congress to one of Complete Independence I think it will not be consistent for any one of our Congress members or leaders hereafter to go and

appear in any British Court in which the law of a foreign Government is administered. I know that if we pass today the boycott of law courts no more lawyers will come to our Congress. But whether they come or not we must today carry this amendment for we would then be able to retain those lawyers who are now leading the Congress from going to the Courts and to purify ourselves, that is to purify the Congress institution. We must unequivocally ask our Congress leaders hereafter not to step into law courts wherein the law of the British nation, I mean the law made by the foreigner is to be administered to perpetuate his rule. After changing the creed of the Congress into one of complete independence I emphatically say that it is dishonest and inconsistent with our creed of complete independence to go and practise in the law courts. So, friends, you should pass my amendment in order to be consistent with our own programme, to be consistent with our own faith, to be consistent with the principles of the Congress, as also with the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi. I know that Mahatma Gandhi is whole-heartedly in favour of boycotting the law courts. We all know that in the programme of non-violent non-co-operation the triple boycott was included, but today the boycott of the Councils is the only programme of Mahatmaji. I know that Mahatmaji is not against the boycott of law courts, but he fears that this step might prove a failure. Apart from its success or failure, if once we believe in a certain principle, it is our bounden duty to carry on the fight to its logical end, and so to be consistent with our creed of complete independence we cannot but include the boycott of law courts also in our programme. Of course, if Pandit Motilal Nehru, the seconder of the resolution, accepts the boycott of law courts, I have no doubt that Mahatmaji will also accept it. I hope therefore that Pandit Motilalji, who is leading the nation today, and who is to lead the nation in co-operation with Mahatmaji tomorrow, will accept this amendment. I would beg of you, Fellow Delegates, to include the boycott of law courts also in the programme and accept my amendment.

Mr. Satyamurthi (Madras) :—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, I apologise for my ignorance of Hindi or Urdu, and I hope you will bear with me for the few minutes I propose to keep you. My amendments are twofold (1) to omit the second sentence in the resolution and (2) to omit the fourth sentence in the resolution. Sir, the first sentence in the resolution asks this Indian National Congress to endorse the leaders' manifesto in response to the Viceroy's statement, and also the Working Committee's resolution thereon. I venture to submit to this august assembly, in all humility, that nothing has happened, from the date when the leaders' manifesto was issued or the date when the Working Committee endorsed it up to this moment, why the Congress should not have the privilege of endorsing that manifesto, laying down conditions before Congressmen or other progressive political parties in the country can take part in the Round Table Conference. Sir, neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Pandit Motilal Nehru has enlightened the Subjects Committee or this august assembly, as to what exactly happened at the interview they had with the Viceroy. Under these circumstances, I think it is the clear duty of the Congress to put the coping-stone on the synthesis of all political parties in the country, which began with the practically unanimous boycott of the Simon Commission, and ended in the issuing of the leaders' manifesto which laid down a general amnesty and conciliation, the personnel of the Conference to be satisfactory, and Dominion Status to be the only basis, as conditions precedent for any progressive political party in this country to take part in the Conference.

I pass on, Sir, to the third sentence in the resolution which declares Independence as the goal of the Congress. I whole-heartedly subscribe to that ideal. I believe no self-respceting nation can have any goal, other than complete national independence, and I think the history of countries like Ireland, Egypt and South Africa which fought for Independence, and ultimately accepted Dominion Status as a compromise, is entirely in favour of the third sentence.

But, Sir, the fourth sentence is the most mischievous in the whole resolution. I ask you to reject

that sentence, for that sentence asks to repeat history and the tragic mistake committed for the last few years, not profiting by the lessons of the futile boycott of the Legislatures. Now, Sir, I wish for the vanished hand of a Deshbandhu or a Lalaji, who would have fought this boycott of legislatures, with greater fervour and with greater eloquence than I can command ; but I want to say this, that the reasons given for this boycott of Legislatures are wholly unconvincing.

Sir, the first reason given in the resolution is that it is a preliminary step towards organizing a campaign for independence. I emphatically say "No," to it. You can fight the elections and win them, God willing, on the issue of complete national independence. Sir, is it nothing that you get 60 lakhs of voters to vote for those who stand unequivocally for complete national Independence ? I say again that the fight for Independence can be carried on, both inside and outside the Legislatures. Further, the experience of countries like Ireland, Egypt and South Africa must convince us that we lose considerably, and gain nothing by boycotting the Legislatures.

We are told, Sir, that the oath of allegiance cannot be taken by those who are pledged to Independence. May I ask those estimable gentlemen how they agree to the boycott of Law Courts not being supported ? The Law Courts administer the law which the Legislatures make, and the Congress party in the Legislatures has opposed and can oppose law making. How can you take part in Local bodies, which are statutory creatures of Legislatures, and in most of which you have got to take the oath of allegiance ?

It also seems to me, Sir, that if you are not going to have a complete programme of immediate Civil Disobedience for achieving Independence, the boycott of Legislatures is a great mistake.

Then, Sir, another reason given is that the Congress policy should be made as consistent as possible with the change of creed. I agree, but beginning with the boycott of Legislatures is beginning at the wrong end. It is not possible to start

all boycotts immediately. What about Insurance Companies and Co-operative Credit Societies which are the creatures of Government statutes, and which have got to depend upon the Government? Mahatma Gandhi himself admitted that it is impossible to completely non-co-operate with the Government to-day. Therefore, I say that the Congressmen's capturing of Legislatures is perfectly consistent with the Congress declaration of Independence.

Then, Sir, we are told that these Legislatures absorb too much of the time of Congressmen; but what are the facts and figures? You want only about 600 or 700 men, for about fifty days in the year to work in these bodies. I ask, is it not a confession of bankruptcy of the nation's resources in men, to suggest that we cannot get these men and more, to do this national work both inside and outside the Legislatures? I claim that those inside the Legislatures have also been doing national work, perhaps more than those outside.

I now come, Sir, to the positive arguments in favour of my amendment. I claim that the experience of the last few years of Swarajists' work in the Legislatures supports my amendment. Mahatma Gandhi himself has paid eloquent tribute in the columns of *Young India* to the work of the Swarajists in the Legislatures. Can anybody deny that President Patel's work in the Assembly has done something to take this nation along the path of Swaraj? I suggest, Sir, that we can fight the Government in the Legislatures, and create a spirit of resistance in our people. The experience of other countries like Ireland and Egypt convinces me and ought to convince you that you ought to capture all strategic positions of power and influence, and give battle to those who are arrayed against you, from every platform. I suggest that we ought to have a synthesis of all our national activities. It is usual to say that those who are not with us are against us. But I ask you rather to act on the maxim that those who are not against us are with us.

Lastly, Sir, I suggest that there is no immediate alternative programme for those who are asked to

go out of the Legislatures. What are we to do? There is no immediate programme and I suggest that it is impossible for you to accept a boycott of the Legislatures, with contingent Civil Disobedience and with no other programme before the country.

One last word and I have done. You want to boycott the elections also. I suggest it is a suicidal step, because I can understand there may be provinces, where after winning the elections you can keep the seats vacant, pursue a Sinn Fein poilcy, or other obstructive tactics. But to lay down once for all that you shall boycott the elections is certainly committing political suicide. Let me say in conclusion, that if you decide upon this, you will not boycott the councils; not one seat is going to be kept vacant, but you will succeed in boycotting the best, the most independent, and the most patriotic men from these Legislatures. I ask you, therefore, to accept my amendments.

Mr. T. Prakasam:—Sir, I move the following amendment—

Substitute the following in place of Mahatma Gandhi's resolution—

"After a careful consideration of the earlier debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the later debate on Mr. Fenner Brockway's motion and particularly the speech of Mr. Benn, the Secretary of State for India, in which he defined the "Round Table Conference" as well as its scope and also the conversation of the leaders with the Viceroy on the 23rd instant; this Congress is of opinion that the proposed Conference is not a Round Table Conference and that nothing can be gained by sending any representative of the Congress to such Conference and declines with thanks the invitation extended to the Congress;

"But having due regard to the fact that some of the leaders of the other organisations, who had so whole-heartedly co-operated with the Congress in the boycott of the Simon Commission and the presentation of a united demand, still hope to persuade the British to accept their demand by argument, this Congress adjourns the consideration of the questions

relating to the change of creed, complete boycott of the Legislatures and immediate starting of Civil Disobedience until the results of their labours at the proposed Conference are known;

"Meanwhile this Congress calls upon the nation to carry on the constructive programme more vigorously and zealously and organise the country to carry on Mass Civil Disobedience and refusal of payment of taxes whenever called upon."

I am so glad that our leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru, have finally discovered that the step which they were taking to get into the so-called Round Table Conference was a wrong one and that they have corrected that mistake, and that they have discovered it so soon after their conversation with the Viceroy. It is a matter for great thankfulness for the country that the two great leaders have at last given the right lead to the country by refusing to send any representatives from the Congress to the so-called Round Table Conference. Well, Sir, this Round Table Conference is not at all a round table conference. Sir John Simon, when he was here with his so-called commission, hinted then and there that all those who were keeping back, representatives of all parties who were keeping back without going to him, and would not give evidence, would be called to some conference thereafter, and that is the conference that has now been developed into the Round Table Conference by Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India. It is not a round table conference at which our constitution would be settled; it is a conference to which all the differing warring elements would be invited and they would be made to quarrel there, and then they will say—"You are quarrelling even here; you are not fit for anything." That is the object with which this has been started and the Englishmen, you ought to know, are so clever and so intelligent in their statesmanship and they have put their case in such a way as to make the world believe that they have made a gesture to India, and that it is for India now to give a reply to them whether they would go to attend the Round Table Conference or not. It is with that object that Mr. Wedgwood Benn laboured

hard to make that fallacious speech in which he wanted to convince the world that India is already enjoying Dominion Status; that is how the trap was laid and I am so glad that the Congress leaders discovered it and that we are saved from the ignominy and humiliation of sending our representatives across the waters to London.

Now, Sir, I have got something to place before you about the step that we have to take. For some years past this conference and our leaders have been labouring hard to invite all the other parties and have a united demand presented, because the Englishmen were always making the excuse that India was divided and that there was never a united demand. I, for my part, never believed that I would live to witness the unity that was brought about by the leaders of all parties in framing a constitution—Dominion Status or whatever it is—that is demanded in the Nehru Report. After presenting that united demand we have been kicked both by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy here. What is it that should be done? They have taken the only course that is open to them. My difficulty has been that of one who has always been obeying the mandate of the Congress. When in Madras by a big resolution passed by the Madras Congress you invited all the parties and then brought about the Nehru Report and presented a united demand and when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Kelkar come here and say "We have still got faith in these Englishmen and we have still got hope that they will grant what is demanded in this joint report," I say that this Congress which is the most representative body, which takes the place of the Government and is even above the Government so far as we are concerned, the step that has now been taken by the Congress leaders will be justified in the eyes of the world. Other nations are watching our destiny here; other nations are looking at what we are doing here; they have taken a step, they have talked a language to convince them that they have made a gesture and that they have invited us to a conference; and that if we take a step in haste the whole world will declare that this Congress was going in a hurry and that we did not

avail ourselves of the opportunity. It is for that reason that I have proposed that this boycott of the legislatures, civil disobedience and change of creed might be postponed for a little while, until the other friends, who were parties to this Nehru Report, go there in the big ship and attend the so-called conference, have their dinners there and get their final kicks: I say that we should wait until then and then it will be time for the Congress to say "We have seen all there is to be seen; we have waited and we are proceeding now." That is what I have stated.

One word more and I shall retire. In Mahatma Gandhi's resolution, there is only one boycott introduced. That takes away my breath. I cannot understand how Mahatma Gandhi could reconcile himself to put in only the boycott of the legislatures, while there is no boycott of courts. The boycott of courts is more important. If you pass the independence resolutions, it means the complete severance of the British connection. A lawyer who goes into court will have to take the oath of allegiance. How is it reconcilable, sensible or reasonable that we should pass this resolution which makes us look ridiculous before the world, if we allow our own people to go with independence in one hand and with loyalty to the British Crown in the other? That is my difficulty. Make the boycott by all means complete; whether there is response or not, I do not care very much; the response will come in due course. I have got faith in our leaders and in the masses. I therefore say that you should not pass that boycott alone and I request you to pass the boycott of the courts as well as of the legislatures. If you do not pass the boycott of courts, do not pass the boycott of legislatures also. I shall give you one instance. I shall tell you what Lord Irwin was doing when he was touring in the south of India; in his interviews to people there he was attempting to get a party that would oppose the Congress party if the Congress refused to attend the so-called conference. They feel that they have been destroyed in the legislatures; I have not been an admirer of our performances in the legislatures; but still when it was said that in India it was not possible to have a party Government, it

was left to the Congress to send candidates into those legislatures and declare to the world that they could.

Mr. M.S. Aney (*Berar*): Sir, I shall first read out the amendment which I have the privilege to move in this House :—

" Having regard to the fact that the Delhi manifesto . . . . (Voices : " Hindi, Hindi, Urdu, Urdu." *Another voice* Marathi.) (*Laughter*).

President : If necessary, the speaker will address in Marathi.

Mr. M. S. Aney: " Having regard to the fact that the Delhi manifesto issued by the Congress Leaders along with others relating to the Viceregal pronouncement on Dominion Status has been generally received in a spirit of conciliation and the Parliament having recently expressed a genuine desire to extend their hand of fellowship to India by sending a unanimous message of goodwill—

" And having further regard to the fact that the questions of high policy referred to therein which are essential for producing a suitabe atmosphere are still under consideration and in the nature of things may require some time more to enable the responsible authorities to take a final decision thereon.

"This Congress resolves to postpone the consideration of the question of the change of the Congress creed to Independence to a special session of the Congress to be convened if necessary at a time and place to be fixed by the All India Congress Committee and authorises the leaders to accept the invitation to the Round Table Conference.

" Provided the Government of India take steps to assure the Congress leaders by securing to the Congress organization a dominant share in the Indian representation on the Round Table Conference which the Congress as the premier and most representative national political organization is entitled to, as well as to announce the general amnesty to political prisoners convicted for offences perpetrated with political motives.

"This Congress further urges the Congress

representatives, if the Round Table Conference materialises, to place before it a scheme of full-fledged Dominion Status on the lines of the Nehru Report and immediately start bringing about an amicable settlement of outstanding points of difference therein pertaining to communal representation and secure the largest measure of support from the various political and other bodies to their joint demand by convening a meeting of All Parties Conference ".

(*For Mr. Aney's speech see Hindustani section.*)

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, (Punjab) in moving amendment to delete the preamble of the resolution, made a speech in Hindustani. (See Hindustani section.)

Mr. Mauli Chandra Sharma (Punjab): Sir, I move the following amendments :

(1) That the words " in the existing circumstances " be omitted from the resolution ; and

(2) That the following words be added : " Nothing is to be gained by the Congress being represented at the Round Table Conference so long as the conditions put forward by the all party leaders in their manifesto are not accepted by the Government, and doubts about its sincerity have not been yet fully removed and an atmosphere of trust created."

(*For speech see Hindustani section.*)

President: The amendments are now finished. Speeches will now begin on the main resolution.

Mr. Abhyankar (C. P. Marathi): Mr. President (*Cries of Hindustani*). Unfortunately I cannot speak that tongue ; it is my misfortune that I can speak only in Marathi, Sanskrit or English. The loud speaker is out of order and therefore I hope you will keep yourselves silent in order to hear me. I stand here mainly to support my friend, Mr. Muhammad Alam's amendment. I must admit that I have very little of spiritualism in me. I am a materialistic fellow all through and to a materialistic person the inclusion of those words which thank the Viceroy in that resolution are either a symptom of hypocrisy or cowardice. (*Cries of 'No.'*) Gentlemen,

people who soar on higher planes than the physical—their ways at least to us are mystic. I cannot understand how this Congress is called upon to thank the Viceroy, who, it is said, is helping the attainment of the goal of the people of this country, a Viceroy whose government brought about the death of Lala Lajpat Rai (*Cries of Shame*) and against which he refused even to raise his little finger to appoint a committee of inquiry into the details of his death, a Viceroy whose government has been good enough to shower lathis on Pandit Jawaharlal at Lucknow (*Cries of Shame*)—I cannot understand how my friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—I call him my friend because he happens to be young—can stand this resolution, while sitting in that chair dumb and silent—I cannot conceive that. There are limits which when reached make a man's action,—I will call it, vicious. What is it that the Viceroy has done? You have been told by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi that you have to accede to that clause for the sake of *insaniyat*—I do not know how to pronounce that word. Well, there are ideas and ideas of *insaniyat*. My idea of *insaniyat* is that you must behave like a man; and what are the pre-requisites of a man? A sweet word for a good act and a blow and a kick for a kick. It is given only to angels and not to men to give sweet words for kicks that you receive.

(*The speaker then continued in Hindustani.*)

Mr. Viswanathan (*Andhra*): Mr. President, friends and gentlemen, You will forgive me for not speaking in Hindustani as I am an Andhra and do not know Hindustani. After a chorus of nearly two and a half hours of oppositoin to this resolution, partial or wholesale, I rise before you to support the resolution as it is. I admit that I am an out and out Independence-wala and it is as an Independencewala that I commend this resolution for your acceptance. 1 am sure, you realise that the central and most important sentence in this long resolution is—"The Congress therefore in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year declares that the word Swaraj in Article one of Congress Constitution shall mean complete independence

and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report to have lapsed and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to tbe attainment of complete Independence for India." Friends, the ideal of Independence has been the dream of the youth of this country ; and after ten years of persuasion, this year Mahatma Gandhi, who has been one of the chief opponents, indeed the strongest opponent of the change of creed, has come and joined hands with us and said that the ideal of dominion status is buried once for all and that India shall henceforth direct her efforts to the attainment of Complete Independenee. I put it to you, my young friends, what is more glorious, what is more desirable for the youth of this country than to get Mahatma Gandhi as an asset to the side of Independence? That is the chief reason why, although I do not see eye to eye with him in some of the sentiments expressed chiefly in the preamble of the resolution, although I do not see why that particular phrase "in the existing circumstances" should find a place—for I say that whatever the circumstances are, the one ideal for which Indians should live and die is Complete Independence whatever may be the circumstances—although some of you at least are opposed to some of the sentiments expressed in the preamble and I am disposed to agree with you, yet as an Independence-wala and as one who is desirous of working along with you for the attainment of complete Independence I say that the central feature, the winning of Mahatma Gandhi to the Independence side is enough for me : it must be enough for me ; it must be enough for you and it must be enough for all people who love Independence for India, and who will fight for it. That is why I support the resolution. You will realise that independence for India is necessary for the peace and well-being not only of this country, but is an immediate necessity for the maintenance of the peace of the whole world. Now there is no tarrying for a while. I put it to you therefore that the amendments which have been proposed by such distinguished countrymen of ours as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Kelkar, or

Mr. Prakasam have got to be thrown out summarily, for the simple reason that they talk of something much less than Independence, that is to say, much less than what you and I and every man, woman and child in this country want ; and are dreadfully in need of, and therefore I recommend this resolution for your acceptance without any change whatever, notwithstanding your slight differences of opinion upon certain matters. Some emphasis has been laid upon the portion relating to the appreciation of the Viceroy. Never mind the parting courtesy to a person who is dismissed by you ; have that courtesy ; give those thanks; and take Mahatma Gandhi in return; take independence and fight for it. I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

President: After going through the papers, I find that Mr. H. D. Rajah is not a properly elected member of the A. I. C. C. and I therefore decide that he is not entitled to be either a member of the All India Congress Committee or a delegate. His amendments therefore fall. I am sorry to announce that Mr. Nariman is not a duly elected member of the A.I.C.C. I cannot help it as the constitution has to be followed.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta (Bengal): Mr. President and Friends, I beg to support the resolution which Mahatma Gandhi has moved. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) You know all the amendments to the resolution have been moved and supported, and I believe that after so many speeches this is the first speech which is going to support the resolution wholeheartedly. Friends, this resolution has been attacked from two sides. It is, so to say, between two cross fires. On the one side it has been said that the resolution has gone too far ; on the other side it has been said that the resolution has not gone far enough. I shall attempt in my humble way to prove to you that the resolution has gone just as far as the Calcutta resolution expected us to go and just as far as the present political condition of India warrants our going. (*Hear, hear*).The main point is, Do you have in India today any other leader who can lead the country to victory than Mahatma Gandhi ? (*Cries of No, No*). You have not. You know that ; and today Mahatma Gandhi has come out of his seclusion once more as he did in 1919-1920

and 1921. (*Cries of Vande Mataram.*) He has given you his programme through the resolution of the Working Committee. Just remember what resolution you passed at Calcutta. It was a compromise resolution, although there was some opposition at the end of the passing of that resolution in Calcutta. Every single congressman accepted that resolution and worked accordingly. That resolution said that if before today, the 31st December 1929, the British Government agreed to Dominion Status, then it would be accepted by the Congress. What could your Working Committee do? There has been criticism that the first part of the resolution is wrong in endorsing the action of the Working Committee in issuing the Delhi Manifesto. There was a clear direction by the Calcutta Congress in the principal resolution that if before the 31st December 1929 the British Government agreed to our terms of Dominion Status then the Congress was bound by it. It was said by some of our friends in the Congress after the Delhi announcement of the Viceroy that the Viceroy had given us Dominion Status. There were others like myself who doubted the sincerity of that pronouncement. But remember it was not one man's opinion that counted. The Congress, before it met at Lahore, before the 31st December, wanted the Government here or the British Cabinet in England to say definitely what was the basis of discussion in this Round Table Conference. Was it dominion status or not? That reply, your leaders, the members of the Working Committee, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru, have got for you. Is it a conference in which according to the Calcutta resolution the basis of discussion will be Dominion Status? The clear unequivocal answer of the Viceroy is 'No'. Is there any difficulty today--can any party in the Congress say that there is some doubt in it? Can any party in the Congress refer to anything said by Mr. Wedgwood Benn in the House of Commons in England? He did not give an unequivocal answer. He said "I will not answer. I will not be cross-examined." Therefore it was necessary for the leaders of the Congress to come to know definitely before the Lahore Congress met whether or not this meant a hoax. We knew, most of us knew, that it was a

hoax; but the blame must not be put upon us that we turned down that proposition. Remember, gentlemen, we had agreed with the other parties in India who were not members of the Congress that we should stick fast with them as long as dominion status was agreed to before the 31st December. That has been defined. Therefore we told them that we must have a definite answer: we cannot go back to the Congress with an indefinite state of affairs; and in fairness to our other comrades in the political fight who are outside the Congress with whom we had come to a solemn pact, until the 31st December we could not do otherwise than issue the Delhi manifesto. The main portion of it is this: do you agree that the basis of discussion at the conference will be dominion status? They have given us a clear answer; and why should you not in the circumstances that were existing at the time, on October 31st and November 1st, when no one knew what this conference was about, when no one actually realised what it was—some saying it is dominion status, others saying 'No, it is a hoax'—now a definite reply has been given, apart from all the verbiage: the main thing was to get a reply to the definite question 'Is it to be dominion status as enunciated in the Calcutta resolution? If the Working Committee had not come before you with a clear reply, one side of this House would have given one interpretation, another side another interpretation. We are in a much better position today. Naturally, therefore, we must carry out logically the effect of the Calcutta resolution What does it say? That we must now declare Swaraj to mean complete independence. There is no quarrel about that in the major portion of this House; but some say 'delete it'. 'Do not do it just now. Why? Either the Calcutta resolution was right or it was wrong. This is the national assembly, the national assembly of us Indians. We passed a solemn resolution that we would declare our goal to be independence, that Swaraj would mean complete independence. on the first of January 1930. We cannot go back upon it, particularly after getting a clear refusal on the question of dominion status forming the basis of the conferernce.

There is one portion of the resolution of the Working Committee which, in my opinion, is not very material and my only comment on it is whether it is there or not it does not matter to me personally. Mahatma Gandhi in his own inimitable way will justify it. That is the portion relating to the appreciation of the Viceroy's efforts towards a settlement of the National movement for Swaraj. I know the feelings that were expressed by Mr. Abhyankar and Dr. Alam are also in my breast: but I am not going to quarrel with the commander whom the nation has set up today, (*Cries of Yes and Hear, hear and Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*) over that little business of appreciation of the Viceroy's efforts. I understand from Mahatma Gandhi that in this particular connection, and only in this connection, the Viceroy was sincere: he does not vouch for the Viceroy's sincerity in all his actions with regard to India; he does not say for all time in future the Viceroy would act sincerely towards India; nor does he say that in the past the Viceroy had always acted sincerely: he says that is the impression he got from his talk with the Viceroy and he says these words will not hurt anybody, they are merely polite words.

I had intended, my friends, to go through most of the amendments, but time is short and therefore I shall just deal with one other question and that is the question of the boycott of the councils. Those of you who know me in this Congress would be surprised at the first instance no doubt, how I a member of the original Swarj party, a Member of the Congress Council Party, and a leader of one of the Congress Council Parties in this great country of ours, how I today come forward with this proposition, namely, that there should be complete boycott of councils, directly or indirectly. In this matter there is no division so far as my province is concerned; we are all agreed that should be so; but a word of explanation is necessary as to why I should support this. Gentlemen, in 1921-22, the Congress at Nagpur passed a resolution of a similar nature. In those days we thought that boycott of councils was proper, that it was the right thing in the political circumstances then existing. We thought that Mahatma Gandhi had gone to jail and there was tremendous depression all over India and we of the Swaraj Party

which had not been recognised by the Congress yet thought that in these new political surroundings and conditions it was necessary to keep alive the spirit of resistance in the people and that we should go to the councils and obstruct there. I say similarly from this rostrun of the national gathering that the Swaraj Party and later on the Congress Council Party in Bengal really kept up the fighting spirit of the nation, and I do say that up to this day the Swaraj Party or the Congress Council Party in Bengal,—that is the province I know about—created from time to time a situation which no other party or organisation could have created in the circumstances then existing. I also appreciate the services that the Congressmen rendered in the Legislative Assembly, particularly the President who was a Congressman—Mr. V. J. Patel. That is so. I appreciate the great work that the Congress Council Party did ; but today the circumstances have changed. These are all means you have to change. As in 1921 we thought boycott was necessary and in 1923 we thought that boycott was unnecessary and the Councils had to be attacked in another way, so in 1929 in the new political circumstances in India, are we to say "Once you said you would go into the Councils; therefore you must remain in the councils always" ? Today you are declaring for complete independence. Today you must change your means ; so far as means are concerned, they can be constantly changed ; they must fit in with the new circumstances. I am sorry I have very little time to develop the points on which I intended to speak.

One word more. In the original resolution of the Working Committee as presented before the Subjects Commitee, the boycott of local bodies was included; that was deleted in the Subjects Committee, but so far as I am concerned I say that I am bound by whatever decision you give. The boycott of local bodies was accepted in the Working Committee, but a different direction was given in the Subjects Committee and that is the reason why it was deleted from the resolution before you and it is for you to suggest whether it should be left as it is. My impression is that so far as Bengal is concerned it will be a good thing if there was a proper boycott of the local bodies also. (*Applause*).

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay) then delivered a speech in Hindustani. (See Hindustani section.)

Closure was moved and accepted, after which Mr. M. K. Gandhi replied, amidst cries of *Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*

Mr. Gandhi (ex-president) spoke in Hindustani first and then in English:

Now a few words to the friends from the south and to the friends from Bengal. Twice I got a note as I was coming here from one of the delegates, that now it was high time that in the Congress at least, nothing but the Rashtra Bhasha, Hindi or Hindustani, was spoken and heard. That is really a counsel of perfection. Years have rolled by and yet even delegates have not fitted themselves for conducting the proceedings in the national language. I hope that next time when we meet we will all come prepared to undertand everything that may be said here in Hindustani ; but today let us face facts as they are and understand that there are some who do not understand Hindustani, and for their sake I will say only a few words.

With reference to the amendments that have been moved in connection with this resolution, I want to use the same similie that I have used in Hindustani that this resolution has got to be considered as a whole, as a building or as a whole picture. He who destroys a part of the picture or a part of the building destroys the whole of it. You take off a few bricks here or a wall there from the building and it is bound to topple ; it has become shaky ; it is not the building that had been conceived by the architect. Similarly with a picture. You paint a picture and any interference with a part of it destroys the whole of the picture. The Working Committee gave all the skill that they were capable of commanding to the framing of the resolution. Then it went into the Subjects Committee and there it was sought to make it undergo all sorts of changes and now it has come to you. Now, it is really for you either to reject that proposition *in toto* or to accept it *in toto*, but not to interfere with it or disturb it. There are amendments for instance, to strike out the phrase 'in the existing circumstances'. I assure you that it has a definite place there. It is time that we realised that some

day or other we shall have to meet in conference with the enemy for the establishment of independence. The phrase is necessary. But it is equally true that that phrase makes it incumbent on the Congress not to be represented in a conference where independence is excluded.

Similarly there is the appreciation of the efforts of the Viceroy in connection with the Swaraj settlement. Either you believe the testimony of your two chosen representatives or you reject that testimony. If you really believe that your representatives have told you the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth when they say: "The Viceroy seemed to us to mean well ; he was courteous throughout; he patiently went through the whole thing as if two friends had met"—if you accept all this testimony, does it not behove you, is it not a matter of common courtesy, is it not your bounden duty to appreciate that effort, if, as I say, you believe their testimony ? If, on the other hand, you do not believe their testimony, then you must hound them out of the Congress. It is not a sign of courage that one should be ashamed of saying what one feels ; but it is a sign of decided courage when a man openly admits the good that even his enemy does. As a matter of fact a people that are pledged to the creed of non-violence will always go out of their way to perform an act of courtesy to the enemy, to think well of the enemy and to see hope where there seems to be utter darkness, because a man of truth and non-violence is always filled with hope. Hope begets hope ; hope begets courage and hope therefore begets decisive action. Therefore as men pledged to a creed of this character it is your double duty to accept this statement in the original resolution and summarily to reject the amendments that have been moved.

Then there is the boycott of the legislatures. I can only say with reference to it that it is supported by the testimony of some of those who went into legislatures with high hopes and amongst these towering above all is Pandit Motilal Nehru. When he who did brilliant work in the Assembly and commanded the respect even of his opponents says that we can make no further progress in the legislatures, his testimony is final for me as it should be for you also. I have no

personal experience of these legislatures, but I have got the fixed immovable conviction that what I used to say about the legislature and the rest in 1929 applies even today, if possible with greater strength.

Again it is said that if you boycott the legislatures, why not boycott the schools and the law courts ? It is a perfectly consistent and logical proposition, but mankind is not governed always by logic and consistency alone. Sometimes mankind gets illogical ; it vindicates its weakness as also its strength by being frankly and even brutally inconsistent. Inconsistent we are in boycotting the legislalures and not boycotting the schools and law-courts and the post office and railways and what not. But there comes our wisdom in understanding our limitations and the Working Committee did understand those limitations ; and although the proposition was contested in the Subjects Committee, the majority of the Subjects Committee have come to the conclusion that we may no longer go to the legislatures, and that we have got strength enough to remain outside the legislatures. There is one stock argument, I know, that no matter what you do your places will never remain vacant ; but it is not the idea that the places should remain vacant. If there is an opium den and if you imagine that fifty thousand people go there including yourselves, will we hesitate to empty that opium den because somebody else will go and occupy that place ? I am quite certain that we will not. If we believe that the legislatures are played out for the nation and for the Congress, then it is wisdom for us to stay out. That others will occupy our places is not a relevant consideration. The relevant consideration is this : can we or can we not in terms of complete independence, go to these legislatures or hasten our progress towards our goal by entering or remaining in the legislatures ? If you feel that we can hasten our progress towards independence by going into these legislatures, by all means go there. I will not talk to you now about the oath that has got to be taken in the legislatures, though for a man like me that also becomes a conclusive argument.

As for the boycott of the schools and law courts, as I have told you I do not see today the atmosphere about

us necessary for such boycott. If there is no such atmosphere, what is the use of putting in a clause which is not going to be operative, which is not going to be acted upon by the very people to whom it is addressed?

Then there comes the question of civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is a thing which I swear by because I possibly cannot concieve India winning her freedom by criminal disobedience; and criminal disobedience means the bomb and the sword. I can conceive of freedom and independence being achieved by and on behalf of the starving millions scattered over the length and breadth of India, in the seven hundred villages, by legitimate and peaceful means only. Disobedience to be absolutely effective has got to be always civil, that is always non-violent; and if you want that civil disobedience should come in the near future you will have to transform yourselves. You will then not have jugglery of thought; you will not then deceive yourselves and, unconsciously it may be, deceive the nation also into the belief that the bomb and non-violence can run on parallel lines. In a place like India where the mightiest organisation is pledged to violence, if you really believe in your own creed, that is to say, if you believe in yourselves, if you believe in your nation, then it is civil disobedience that is wanted; and if it is civil disobedience that is wanted, then, you must observe the strictest discipline, you must see that no passion arises at least amongst ourselves, no ugly demonstrations of the sort that we have seen here and that we saw in the Subjects Committee; we must be calm, cool, collected, courageous, brave; and we must speak to the point, never obstruct. It does not matter a bit if every one of my propositions is lost; I must have toleration for those who have moved and supported these amendments. Then only shall I be able to vindicate my faith in non-violent organisation. And so, if you really want civil disobedience in the near future, it is necessary for you to conduct the proceedings of the Congress and of the Subjects Committee in a manner behoving peaceful men. If you have got real love for freedom, then there is no room for irritation, mutual jealousies, quarrels; but there is room only for united, brave, calm and collected action. Hence I ask you with

all the strength that I can possibly command to carry this resolution with acclamation because this is the central resolution of this session. Let it not be said in the world that we, who today pledge ourselves to independence pledge ourselves with divided counsels, that we are a house divided against itself and therefore bound to fall. Let it go forth to the whole world that we rose to a man to vindicate our freedom and that we pledged ourselves to attain that freedom by the quickest possible manner. Hence I ask you also to reject summarily the resolution of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose also. I know that he is a great worker in Bengal; he has shone in many a field; he was the commander-in-chief of our forces in Bengal. He has moved a proposition which is not an amendment, it is really a substantive resolution to be substituted for the original resolution. It is a good proposition, I do not deny that; but it goes far deyond my resolution. It suggests a parallel government. If you think that you can have a parallel government today then let me tell you that the Congress flag does not at present fly even in one thousand villages. All honour to those who favour this amendment but it is not bravery, it is not prudence, it is not wisdom. You cannot establish freedom by mere passing of a resolution. You will establish freedom not by words but by deeds. Therefore consider whether you can establish a parallel government today, whether you can carry out all the boycotts mentioned in that resolution. We are not declaring Independence, mind you. In Madras we declared Independence as our goal. Here we go a step further and say that Independence is not a distant goal but it is our immediate objective. But Subhas Chandra Bose wants you to go a step further still. I would like to follow him through and through if I considered parallel government a present possibility. Parallel government means our own law courts, our own schools and colleges etc. If you think that we have the ability to do today all the things enumerated in Subhas Babu's resolution you should pass it and reject my proposition. But I suggest to you that we have not that ability today and therefore I ask you to think with me that the step suggested by the Working Committee is the longest step that we can take

today, a step further and it lands you in a pitfall. That is my certain conviction and hence I urge you with all the strength that I can command to carry this resolution without the change of a comma.

President : I shall now proceed to take your votes on this resolution and the amendments.

A Delegate : Most of the visitors are sitting with us.

President : There are 14 amendments. Two amendments were put forward by Mr. Rajah. I have declared that Mr. Rajah was not properly elected to the A.I.C.C. and therefore he is not a delegate. His amendments would have ordinarily fallen through, but I have permitted other members of the House to father those amendments. Now, I shall first take the last amendment of Mr. Mauli Chandar Sharma, namely that the words "so long as the conditions put forward by all Party Leaders at Delhi are not accepted by Government and the doubts about its sincerity having been fully removed and an atmosphere of trust created" be added after the words "Round Table Conference".

The amendment was put and lost.

The amendment of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was then put and lost.

Mr. M. S Aney's amendment was put and lost.

Ch. Afzal Haq's amendment was put and lost.

Pandit M.M. Malaviya's amendment was put and lost.

Mr. Prakasam's amendment was put and lost.

Mr. Satyamurthi : May I request you, Sir, to put first Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's amendment and then put mine ?

President : I am taking them in order. How will it help matters ?

Mr. S. Satyamurthi : I think they ought to be given a chance of taking a vote separately.........

President : Yes, certainly.

Mr. S. C. Bose's amendment was then put and declared lost.

A Delegate : I want a division.

President : I have to trouble the delegates again to vote on this motion so that my friend who claims a division might himself see the manifest difference between those who are in favour and those against.

Therefore I would beg of you to vote again on this motion.

Mr. S. C. Bose's amendment was again put and lost.

President: Now comes Mr. Satyamurthi's amendment, namely to omit the fourth sentence in the resolution ; is that right, Mr. Satyamurthi ?

Mr. S. Satyamurthi : Yes.

The amendment was put and lost.

Mr. Govindachari's first amendment was put and lost.

Mr. Govindachari withdrew his second amendment, namely that the words "in the existing circumstances" be deleted.

President : Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed (Bengal) takes the place of Mr. Rajah.

The amendment was put and lost.

Mr. Shamsuddin's second amendment, was then put which reads? " Add the following after the words 'contructive programme of the Congress' and before 'and authorises' occurring in the last sentenee."

" 'And take up immediately the work of organizing labour with a view to bring about general strike thereby paralysing the Government machinery, organizing peasants and other sections of oppressed Indian people." The amendment was lost.

President: Now comes Dr. Muhammad Alam's amendment, nemely to omit the words "and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the National movement for Swaraj."

The amendment was put and declared lost.

A delegate demanding a division, the President pointed out that only Delegates should vote, and also requested them not to stand up as it was causing difficulty in counting.

The amendment was again put and declared lost as 664 voted for and 763 against.

The amendment was therefore lost.

A Delegate : I want a division, Sir.

Dr. Alam: Might I suggest, Sir, that in the meantime subject to this amendment the main resolution might be put ?

President: Now, I propose to take your votes on the main resolution subject to the division on this

amendment. As a matter of fact, my own decision on this amendment is that it is lost. Of curse, as a result of the division votes may be the other way, I cannot say, but subject to the result of the division on Dr. Alam's amendment I propose to take your sense on the resolution itself.

The main resolution was put and carried amidst cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai.*

President: It seems to me that not more than one dozen votes are against the resolution, may be 15——

Dr. Alam: I thought they were 6.

President: Dr. Alam corrects me and says there were only six votes more, so that subject to the division on the amendment this resolution is passed.

(Cries of Mahatma Candhi ki Jai).

President: In the division only delegates are entitled to vote, and therefore I would ask the Press and the visitors to kindly go out. Everybody will have to go out. Only the volunteers will remain in the pandal.

At this stage the delegates, the visitors and the press representatives went out of the pandal). After a short wile, the delegates were re-admitted to the Pandal, and 6 gentlemen, viz. Dr. Alam, Pandit Santanam, Lala Girdharilal, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar (Punjab), Mr. Kidwai (U. P.), and Mr. S. C. Mitra (Bengal) were selected as counters.

The following figures were then announced as a result of the voting:—

Dr. Alam's amendment ; 802 for and 927 against. Amendment lost.

On the first resolution (congratulations to the Viceroy and his party on their escape from the bomb outrage) the following figures were announced :—

For 904.

Against 823.

The resolution was declared carried.

Presidennt: At 11 O'clock tomorrow morning the unveiling ceremony of Lala Lajpat Rai's statue will be performed by Mr. President Patel at Golbagh.

The Subjects Committee will meet tomorrow morning and the Congress will meet at 2 p. m.

I wish you all a Happy New Year and an Independent India.

The Congress then adjourned till the next day.

1st January 1930.

The Congress met in the Congress Pandal at 2-30 P.M. on Wednesday, the 1st January 1930. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the President, was in the Chair.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of *Vande Mataram* by the lady volunteers and the playing of other national songs by the Amritsar band.

The President then put the following resolution from the Chair:—

"The Congress congratulates Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who recently went to East Africa at considerable inconvenience to herself, and also the Indians in East Africa on the clear national stand they took upon the Indian problem in that sub-continent. This Congress is of opinion that no solution of the question can satisfy the nation that accepts communal electorates and is based on a discriminate franchise or that imposes disqualification on Indians holding property."

In putting this resolution before the House the President said:

I need hardly remind the House that the phrase "communal electorates" here refers to electors as Asiatics, Africans and Europeans; it has no reference to religion. I have no doubt that the House will accept this resolution unanimously.

The President then explained the resolution in Hindi after which it was carried unanimously.

The President next put the following resolution from the Chair:—

"This Congress condemns the refusal of passports for return to India to Mr. Shapurji J. Saklatvala, ex-M. P. and others who are living in England and other foreign countries."

President: Delegates must know that it is becoming quite a frequent practice for the British Government to prevent Indians from returning to India, their homeland. There are ever so many friends of ours, patriots who have spent almost the major portion of their lives outside the country, and they are unable to return.

The most recent instance has been the case of Mr. Saklatvala who was to have come to attend this Congress as the delegate of the London Branch of the Indian National Congress; also Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghosh was coming to attend as a delegate from the New York Branch of the Indian National Congress. Both of these gentlemen were refused passports and were unable to come. In the same way many other friends of ours have been refused passports and this resolution is in condemnation of this practice.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

President: I now place before you the third resolution which relates to financial burdens and their repudiation. It runs:—

"This Congress is of opinion that the financial burdens directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration are such as a free India cannot bear and cannot be expected to bear.

"This Congress whilst re-affirming the resolution passed at the Gaya Congress in 1922 records its opinion for the information of all concerned that every obligation and concession to be inherited by Independent India will be strictly subject to investigation by an independent tribunal and every obligation and every concession, no matter how incurred or given, will be repudiated if it is not found by such tribunal to be just and justifiable."

After speaking in Hindustani, the President said:—

I was reminding the House of the Gaya resolution in regard to the repudiation of future debts and obligations. This resolution re-affirms that resolution and also makes it clear that Independent India will certainly not be liable for all the debts which England may have dumped down on her for the purpose of enslaving her or for carrying on her imperialist ways and designs. We shall only consider ourselves liable for such debts as are just and as have benefited India, and an independent tribunal should decide this. I hope that this resolution will be agreed to by the House.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

President: The next resolution relates to the change in the dates of the Congress session. It runs thus:—

"Inasmuch as the Congress is intended to be representative of the poor masses and inasmuch as the holding of the Congress at the end of December involves very considerable expense to the poor people in providing for extra clothing for themselves and is otherwise inconvenient to them, the date of holding the Congress session is hereby altered to some date in February or March to be fixed by the Working Committee in consultation with the Provincial Committee of the province concerned.

"The Congress authorises the Working Committee to make all necessary and consequential changes in the constitution."

The resolution itself gives the reasons for the proposed change. There is no doubt that delegates coming from South India, indeed from the greater part of India, are very much inconvenienced by the severe cold which prevails in the north of India at this time of the year. Also the Reception Committee has to spend large sums of money in preparation for the session during the winter. It is, therefore, proposed to fix a time which is pleasant and which is neither hot nor cold. Two months have been given so that the session may be fixed in accordance with the climatic conditions of the province where the session is going to be held, because February may be too cold for Lahore or Allahabad, but may be suitable for Madras. March may suit Lahore but may be too hot for Madras. So the exact date has not been fixed; it has been left to the Working Committee to fix a date within those two months.

(The President then explained the resolution in Hindustani.)

Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, Baba Gurdit Singh and another delegate spoke opposing the resolution. (See Hindustani Section.)

Mr. Dhawan suggested that the resolution might be formally moved by someone other than the President as it appeared to be contentious.

Dr. Satyapal then formally moved the resolution and spoke in Hindustani. (See Hindustani section.)

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar supported the resolution in a Hindustani speech. (See Hindustani section.)

Baba Gurdit Singh spoke opposing the resolution. (See Hindustani section.)

Pandit Neki Ram Sharma also spoke opposing the resolution. (See Hindustani section.)

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan spoke in Hindustani. (See Hindustani section.)

Malik Lal Khan spoke opposing the resolution. (See Hindustani section.)

Closure was moved and carried, after which the President made a few remarks informing the House that the Chief Medical Officer of Lajaptrai Nagar had just told him that during the past four days over 1700 persons had to be treated in Lajpatrai Nagar chiefly for colds and that the real figure for all who suffred from them had probably gone up to near 2000.

The resolution was then put to the vote and declared carried, 754 voting for and 429 against.

Mr. Manilal Kothari (Bombay) moved the following resolution :—

" In the opinion of this Congress the time has now arrived for the Ruling Princes of India to grant responsible government to their people and to enact laws or issue proclamations safeguarding the elementary and fundamental rights of the people such as freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom to hold public meetings and security of person and property."

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates (*cries of Hindi, Hindi*).

(Mr. Manilal Kothari then spoke in Hindi. (See Hindi section.)

Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao (Karnataka) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President and Friends.

(*Voices* : Loud Speaker, please).

Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao: Why should I wait till the loud speaker gets to order, I shall try to be naturally as loud as possible, and I shall be very brief. This is a very important resolution concerning Indian States, and I consider it a great privilege that I am called upon to second this resolution. It is a matter of great relief that the Indian National Congress has at last decided to tackle the problem of the Indian States. I take this opportunity of expressing the thankfulness and gratitude of

the people of Indian States to the President for the able pronouncement he has made in his Presidential Address acknowledging in unequivocal terms the rights of the people of Indian States to determine the future of the States including the Rulers. Personally I am very grateful that the President has recognised the right of the people which was unfortunately ignored by the Ruling Princes. Now the Congress has decided upon independence as the creed of the Congress. It is for the Congress leaders to think how best they should solve the problem of Indian States. No part of India, however well organized and well-equipped, can be independent when the other parts of India are in bondage. What is the position in the Indian States ? The people cannot speak, they cannot meet, they cannot assemble together, they cannot do anything, which must ensure their political progress. Many of you must have heard of the numerous prohibitory orders issued by the rulers of the so-called premier States. Mysore is said to be one such state; yet it is full of such instances in recent days. You must have heard that very recently Hyderabad State has prohibited the holding of public meetings. What are the people to do in the States if they cannot give expression to their feelings? What is the position of the people in the States ? Taxes are heavy and the people cannot talk about it; they cannot express what they want to their Princes. If meetings are prohibited, if the papers are prohibited, what is there left to the people in the States? They are labouring under a very grave disability and hardship, and who can come to their assistance except the Indian National Congress, the premier national institution of India ? I am really glad that the Indian National Congress has recognised the necessity of taking the lot of people into its hands now. If we examine the position of the people in Indian States it will be found that it is unblushing and undiluted autocracy that rules throughout. As I have already explained, taxes are very heavy and the people have no voice in the matter. The so-called representative institutions that exist in the Indian States have no power whatsoever. They are mere farces. The people in the States cannot make their decisions binding on he executive. They have got a vigorous Press Act;

they cannot publish newspapers without the permission of the Executive Government, and if anybody violates the orders of such governments—not of Princes—prosecutions are launched and heavy penalties are imposed. You must have heard of instances of political prosecutions that are occurring in the Indian States in recent days, and it is only just and right that the Indian National Congress should take the people of the Indian States into their confidence and try to assist them in overcoming their difficulties, in ensuring their political progress.

I am very glad personally that this Congress has decided to include the question of Indian States in its programme by means of this resolution. I wish the Congress had gone further and said that the Princes must take the verdict from this Congress and establish responsible government immediately. I say from the rostrum of this national assembly to the Princes that the time is fast approaching when the Indian National Congress will have to devise means for the enforcement of this demand. Let them know that the demand made here to-day is serious and no longer capable of being shelved.

I have nothing more to say in the matter. I am sure from what I have so far stated you have recognised the necessity of taking up the question of Indian States by the Indian National Congress in right earnest without much delay. I assure you that people of States are in tune with you and do everything they can to advance the cause of Congress. Let me thank you, Mr. President, for having made the pronouncement, and I hope and pray that this national institution will tackle the problem of Indian States in all its aspects and try to solve it in the interests of States and that of India as a whole no less. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Mr. S. Satyamurti (*Madras*) in seconding the resolution said :—

Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution. I wish it had been possible for the Congress to declare from this platform that no permanent or satisfactory settlement of India's political future can be arrived at without the active co-operation of or behind the backs of the people of the Indian States, who form roughly one-third of the

population of India. But as you, Mr. President, pointed out, this resolution practically commits the Congress to this position, namely, that hereafter the fater of the people of the Indian States and of the people of British India are linked together for better and for worse, and that British India cannot win freedom or independence and Indian people cannot win freedom or responsible government in their States without the active co-operation of one with the other. There are only two or three points, I want to make on this resolution.

Today in the Indian States, the people are worse governed in most of them—with honourable exceptions, I recognise—than the people in British India. It is a matter of shame to us that, in parts of India governed by Indians, there should be worse government than in the neighbouring parts of British India. This resolution, therefore, rightly asks for the elementary rights of citizenship being recognised in the Indian States, as also for full responsible government being established in them.

The next point I want to make is this. Many of the Princes have been delcaring in the press and on the platform that for their sake the British Crown must remain permanently in India, as their treaties are with the Crown and they cannot recognise the British Indian Government as the authority with whom they can have any dealings. This is, historically unsound, constitutionally incorrect, and politically dangerous, for the Princes themselves. Their Highnesses will find an independent India, a self-governing India, a free India, much more friendly to them, much more anxious to protect their *izzat* and their prestige, than a foreign Government in this country. Their Highnesses may find just now very many soft pats on their backs, because the political situation in India is becoming critical, and the Indian Princes perhaps will be the last ditch from which the British bureaucracy may like to stem the rising tide of freedom in India. But their Highnesses must remember that, so far as their "sovereignty" is concerned, with very rare exceptions, it has been very unreal, and they have been puppets, in many more important matters than they may care to confess openly. Therefore, I suggest that the demand of the Princes is practically suicidal for themselves;

and they must reconcile themselves to the new situation. I promise them, on behalf of free India, that they will find their best friends in British Indian people in the work of carrying on the government of their States.

Secondly, Sir, the people of the Indian States have a right to say, when the Princes claim that the British Crown should permanently remain in India for their safety, that the people have more faith in a free and self-governing India than in the British Crown being maintained here. There again the voice of the people must prevail, at least to an equal extent. Further, Sir, with regard to the many points of dispute between British India and Indian India, as they are called, for example in the matter of customs duties, the people of the Indian States have at least as much right as the Princes themselves to have their say in favour of an equitable, just, and honourable settlement.

Last, but not least, the people of the Indian States are not yet so organized, as we of British India are to-day, although we too are not yet completely well organized or anything like it yet. Therefore, I think it is the clear duty of the people of British India, to take increasing interest in the affairs of Indian States and take them along with them in their struggle for freedom. With these few words, Mr. President and Brother Delegates, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution, and commending it to your unanimous acceptance.

Pandit Mauli Chandra Sharma in supporting the resolution spoke in Hindi. (See Hindi Section.)

At the conclusion of this speech, the President put the resolution to vote and it was carried.

At this stage the President declared (in Hindi) that he had received a requisition signed by some delegates for moving in the open Congress two resolutions which were defeated in the Subjects Committee. He requested the signatories not to press for it and to withdraw their requisition. He said it would be better not to press the matter further at the fag-end of the session. The President informed the House that Mahatma Gandhi too had joined him in this request. The requisition was withdrawn.

A resolution appreciating the services of the

General Secretaries, Treasurers and Honorary Auditors for the year 1929 was moved from the chair and adopted (See Hindustani Section.)

In response to the invitation of Mr. R. K. Sidhwa and Dr. Choithram, and Syt. Jairamdas Daulat Ram the President moved that the next session of the Congress be held in Karachi. The resolution was passed.

The General Secretaries' Annual Report of Congress work and audited statements of Tilak Swaraj Fund accounts for 1929 were presented to the Congress. (*See Appendix*).

A resolution that the following office-bearers be appointed for 1930 was adopted :—Dr. Syed Mahmood and Mr. Sri Prakash, General Secretaries. (At this stage in response to the request of a large number of delegates to see the General Secretaries, the President called Mr. Sri Prakash to the rostrum and presented him to the delegates; Dr. Mahmood was absent.) Treasurers:—Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta. Auditors: Messrs. Dalal and Shah.

Mr. Sri Prakash then read out messages from the Hindustan Nationalist Party, San Francisco, Trinidad Indians, Trinidad, California Hindustan Association, etc. etc. (*See supra pp. 41-81.*)

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (ex-President), after speaking in Hindi in response to repeated requests from the audience spoke in English as follows :—

Friends,—(*Voices from visitors:* Loud Speakers please) I do not like loud speaker ; I think I am loud enough *(laughter)*. Friends, you will have observed that I took no part in the deliberations of this session. Usually I speak once or twice in the course of every Congress session, but I have realised the gravity of this occasion. I have wondered how many of those who are so ready with their cries of freedom and revolution and other catch words have realised the implications of the things they say. But when all is said and done, you and I as responsible men and women, whether rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, in the opinion of our friends or enemies, have made a commitment to ourselves and to the world, and we are bound by that commitment to the very last moment of our slavery. (*Hear, Hear*). There can be no moment of joy or jubilation between

our struggle against slavery and the realisation of our freedom. And I want all of you who are committed in this fashion to realise that freedom is a most terrible burden which requires great courage and endurance to bear. It is very easy to talk of freedom, but to be free requires much greater courage than most men and women have had in this world. I want to sound a note of warning here. I note with the greatest shame and humiliation the lack of discipline in the nation. You cannot have freedom, and having won it, you cannot sustain it without discipline and loyalty amongst yourselves at every step. I have been travelling, as you know, in many countries in the space of a year. Everywhere I have carried the message of your hopes for liberty, and in every country I have found that liberty rests not on statutes, not on legislation, but on the disciplined will and obedience of the loyal nation, and therefore I am going a little out of my proper function to remind you about the commitments you have made. Do not talk of freedom until and unless you become disciplined within yourselves; do not dare to talk of liberty unless you are prepared to obey as soldiers obey, once you have given your word, wether the command to follow be wise or unwise in your personal judgment. That is the basis of freedom of all free nations.

Let me now express our thanks to the Reception Committee on behalf of those who have had the honour and privilege of the hospitality arranged by that Committee. I want to thank the Volunteers also, and espceially the Girl Volunteers, not because of their chivalry or you might say gallantry, but because they have shown themselves comrades with their mem in sharing every kind of discomfort, cold, the discourtesy of rude men sometimes (*laughter*), the ingratitude of rude women sometimes, and criticisms of those who take services and yet complain. I am told that sometimes the radiators did not work; I am told that sometimes the tea got cold; I am told that everyone did not get a seat of honour that Pandit Motilal Nehru probably got, and things of that kind. I was told that one man was going to vote against Mahatma Gandhi because the leaders had got radiators while

he had not got any. However, I am quite sure that if the volunteers and the Reception Committee will be indulgent enough to overlook the faults and failings of the delegates, they will also accept in the sincere spirit in which it is offered the thanks of all the delegates of India for the hospitality of Lahore. (*Hear, hear.*) One word more and I have done. I think that not a single visitor or delegate has attended this Congress in Lajpatrai Nagar without paying the tribute of a tear to the memory of that great dead lion whose statue was unveiled today in the Gol Bagh. Had he been here in person, I think perhaps this Congress would have had perhaps even more life and enthusiasm. But though his ashes were strewn not so long ago along the banks of the river Ravi, I believe that we to-day are the inheritors of his great dream, and in following the path of pilgrimage towards liberty, we shall remember that he was one among the earliest standardbearers of India's freedom. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew then thanked the Delegates and Shrimati Lajjavati and the lady volunteers and others. (See Urdu section.)

The President, thanked the volunteers, and Dr. Hardikar and the Hindustani Seva Dal in a speech in Hindustani (*see Hindustnni Section*) and declared the session closed.

The Congress session then closed amidst cries of '*Vande Mataram*' and '*Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*'.

महात्मा गांधी जी का भाषण।

(देखो अङ्गरेजी विभाग पृष्ठ ८२)

जय जय के घोष से मंडप गुंजायमान हो रहा था और "महात्मा गांधी की जय" की ध्वनि का क्षण भर के लिए राग छिड़ गया।

महात्मा गांधी जी ने मंच पर आकर कहा :—

"सदर साहब, भाइयो और बहिनो !

आप लोगों ने जो प्रस्ताव मेरे हाथ में रक्खा है वह पहले, जो अंग्रेज़ी ज़बान में लिखा है, सुनाऊँगा (प्रस्ताव पढ़ा)

इस का मतलब यह है कि वाइसराय की ट्रेन पर जो बम्ब गोला फेंका गया था उस के बारे में कांग्रेस अपने दर्द को ज़ाहिर करती है। और इस के साथ कांग्रेस का जो अपना एतबार है उस को भी दुबारा ज़ाहिर करती है, कि ऐसे काम, जैसे बम्ब फेंकना, कांग्रेस के क्रीड के बरखिलाफ़ है। इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि, ऐसे काम से कौम का, प्रजा का, जो काम है उस को भी नुकसान पहुँचता है। मुझे कहा गया है कि वाइसराय साहब और लेडी इरविन और उनके साथ जो ग़रीब नौकर लोग थे, उन सब को इस से (बम्ब से) कोई नुक़सान नहीं पहुँचा इस लिये हमदर्दी का प्रस्ताव नहीं करना चाहिये।

अभी मेरा इरादा ऐसा ही था, कि इस बारे में आप लोगों को कुछ भी सुनाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। इस लिये सिर्फ़ रिज़ोल्यूशन ही आप

लोगों के सामने रख कर मैं खामोश हो जाऊँ। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध भी होने वाला है। सबजेक्ट कमेटी में तो इसका विरोध था ही, यह आप ने देख लिया है। मैं सिर्फ आप से इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक कांग्रेस के क्रीड में, हम अमन से, शान्ति से, सच्चाई से, स्वराज्य लेना चाहते हैं, ऐसा लिखा है तब, तक अगर कोई शख्स हिन्दुस्तान में तशद्दुद करता है तो हम को उसके लिये अपनी राय ज़ाहिर करनी चाहिये।

आप कांग्रेस के क्रीड को बदलना चाहते हैं तो बदल दें, यह दूसरी बात है। लेकिन, जब तक इस कांग्रेस के क्रीड में यह बात है तब तक यह हमारा फ़र्ज़ हो जाता है कि ऐसे काम के बारे में हम अपनी राय ज़ाहिर करें। हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत किस्म के लोग रहते हैं। ऐसा समझा जा सकता है, लेकिन सब लोग क्या करेंगे क्या नहीं करेंगे इस बारे में हम क्या कह सकते हैं? सब को अपने २ ख्याल का अखतीयार है। ऐसा सुनाया जाता है। लेकिन, अगर कांग्रेस हिन्दुस्तान के ३० क्रोड़ लोगों के लिये अपना काम कर रही है, ऐसा हमारा दावा है, और मेरी उम्मीद है कि ऐसा ही है, तो जिस तरह मैं यह दावा कर सकता हूँ, उसी तरह हम सब लोगों का यह भी दावा करना चाहिये कि अगर कांग्रेस ३० करोड़ की प्रतिनिधि है तो हिन्दुस्तान में कोई भी शख्स हो, भले ही कांग्रेस का विरोधी हो, दुश्मन हो, कोई भी हो, जो ऐसा काम करेगा कांग्रेस उसके विरुद्ध अपनी राय ज़ाहिर करेगी।

दूसरी बात यह है कि आप लोग जो वर्षों से यह काम कर रहे

हैं अगर आप ने अच्छी तरह से देखा है तो आप को पता होना चाहिये कि ऐसे काम से हिन्दुस्तान को कोई फ़ायदा नहीं हुआ। अगर हम कांग्रेस के ४१ वर्ष के इतिहास को देखें तो पता चलेगा कि इससे हिन्दुस्तान का कोई फ़ायदा ख़ास नहीं हुआ। कोई भाई यह भी कहेंगे कि कुछ फ़ायदा तो होता है, मैं मानूंगा होता है, लेकिन जितना इसके लिये त्याग किया गया है उसके बदले क्या मिलता है मानटेग्यूरीफ़ार्म या इस जैसा कोई चीज़, हिसाब लगा कर देखेंगे तो कोई नतीजा उस से नहीं मालूम होगा।

(C. I. D. सज्जनों ने आगे पीछे बैठ कर इतना शोर और गड़बड़ी मचाई कि महात्मा गांधी जी के भाषण का यह भाग ठीक सुनाई नहीं दिया)

ऐसा मौक़ा आगया था कि अगर बम्ब अपना काम कर जाता तो बड़ी हानि होती। जब वह हानि नहीं हुई, तो मुबारकबाद देना बहुत ज़रूरी हो गया। ऐसा भी कहा गया है, कि डर कर हम मुबारकबादी का प्रस्ताव कर रहे हैं। इस प्रस्ताव में तो कहीं वाइसराय का नाम नहीं लिया गया है। डर की तो बात नहीं है। मगर मनुष्यता की बात है। मैं जानता हूँ बहुत से भाई डर की बात कह कर इस का विरोध करेंगे।

अभी यह भी कहा गया है कि आप यहां प्रतिनिधि बन कर आये हैं, तो अपनी ज़िम्मेवारी को समझ कर आप इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेंगे और जो इस के विरोध में कहा जायेगा उसको नहीं मानेंगे।"

राष्ट्रपतिः—"हज़रात, डाक्टर अन्सारी इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करेंगे।"

इस के पश्चात् श्री डाक्टर अन्सारी साहब सभा मंच पर आये। जय २ घोष हुआ।

डाक्टर अन्सारी का भाषण।

(देखो अङ्गरेजी विभाग पृष्ठ १४)

डाक्टर अन्सारी जी ने कहा :—" भाइयो और बहिनो, मैं इस रिज़ोलेशन की ताईद करने आया हुँ। जिस को अभी आप के सामने गांधी जी ने पेश किया है। महात्मा जी ने आप को कांग्रेस क्रीड और उस की वजह से जो आप को इस वक्त अपने ख्याल का इज़हार करने की ज़रूरत है, यह बतला दिया है। लेकिन मैं आप को कांग्रेस क्रीड के मुताल्लिक ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा। मैं कहूंगा कि दुनियां की तारीख़ आप के सामने है और बम्ब फेंकने से और इस क़िस्म के बुज़दिल तरीके से काम करने से किसी मुल्क को कभी आज़ादी नहीं मिली है। (शेम, शेम और सुर्ख झंडों का हिलाना शुरू हुआ)।

राष्ट्रपति :—" अगर आप चाहते हैं कि काम हो तो चुप रहें।

डाकटर साहब:—मैं यह कहूँगा कि जो लोग सुर्ख़ झंडा हिलाते हैं। अपने को कम्यूनिस्ट होने का इज़हार कर रहे हैं, उन को भी यह समझना चाहिये कि कम्यूनिस्ट लोगों का भी यह तर्ज़ नहीं है। वह भी इस तरह की सख्ती को मुनासिब नहीं बतलाते। कम्यूनिस्ट भी ख़ास आरगेनिज़ेशन के मालिक हैं। इस लिये कम्यूनिस्ट की निगाह से भी यह ख़राब बात है। और मैं यह कहूँगा कि यहां की कौमी

तहज़ीब, हिन्दुस्तान की कौमी सियासत और तारीख ऐसे बुज़दिल काम के खिलाफ़ है। और आप का यह फ़र्ज़ है कि आप उस को कन्डैम करें।

इस के बाद का जो हिस्सा है, वह जब आप किसी चीज़ को नाजायज़ समझते हैं, अपने मुल्क के खिलाफ समझते हैं, गलत समझते हैं, तो आप का फर्ज़ है कि जिन लोगों के ऊपर यह हमला किया गया था, उन के सही सलामत होने से, आप अपने मुल्क को और उन को मुबारकबाद दें। (हर्गिज़ नहीं, हर्गिज़ नहीं,)। ऐसा आप न करें तो साफ ज़ाहिर होगा कि चाहे अपने अलफ़ाज़ में आप अदम तशद्दुद को मानते हों, मगर जब अमल होता है तशद्दुद का, तो आप उस को पसन्द करते हैं। इस लिये आप का फर्ज़ है कि आप इस किस्म की कार्रवाई को न सिर्फ़ बुरा कहें, बल्कि इन से बच जाने वालों को मुबारकबाद भी दें।

मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप लोग महज़ ठंडे दिल से, जोश को दूर रख कर, सोचेंगे कि यह रिज़ोल्यूशन न सिर्फ़ मुनासिब और ज़रूरी ही है, बल्कि, इस से दुनियां के सामने आप अपने को सच्चे और हक के ऊपर रहने वाले करार देंगे। वरना आप लोग हर्गिज़ एतबार के काबिल न समझे जायेंगे। मैं इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की ताईद करता हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति :—अब पहिले इस के कि कोई और तक़रीर हो, मैं यह रिज़ोल्यूशन, छपा हुआ, आप को पढ़ दूँगा। (प्रस्ताव पढ़ागया) अब स्वामी गोविन्दा नन्दजी इस की मुख़ालिफ़त करेंगे।

स्वामी गोविन्दा नन्द का भाषण ।

(देखो अङ्गरेजी विभाग पृष्ठ ८४)

स्वामी गोविन्दानन्द जी बोले :—"प्रतिनिधि भाइयो और बहिनो, मैं कांग्रेस और अपने देश के प्रति, भारतवर्ष के प्रति, सेवा के भाव से लाचार होकर उस प्रस्ताव की, जिसको महात्मा गांधी जी और डाक्टर अन्सारी साहब ने पेश किया है, मुख़ालिफ़त करता हूँ ।

कहा गया है कि कांग्रेस का क्रीड अहिंसा है, इसलिये जा बम्ब आउट्रेज़ वाइसराय के ऊपर हुआ है उसकी अवश्य मलामत की जाय । मेरा यह कथन है, और बड़े अदब से कथन है, कि इस देश में जितने भी बम्ब आउट्रेज़ होते, हैं, आप उनको देखें कि उनका कांग्रेस के क्रीड, अहिंसा से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है । कांग्रेस का जो क्रीड अहिंसा आप जानते हैं, वह सिर्फ कांग्रेस वालों के लिये ही है । इस देश में कई एक पार्टीज़ हैं । ऐसा कहा जाता है कि तीस करोड़ हिन्दुस्तानियों की एक कांग्रेस ही रिप्रेज़ेन्टेटिव है । मेरा यह दावा है कि कांग्रेस हिन्दुस्तान की प्रीमियर पोलिटिकल आरगेनीज़ेशन है । लेकिन इसके सिवा हिन्दुस्तान में, जैसे लिबरल फैडरेशन आदि दूसरी पार्टियें भी हैं— रिवोल्यूशनरी पार्टी भी है । इनको कोई हिन्दुस्तान में रोक नहीं सकता । हमारा यह फर्ज़ है, कि जैसा हम हिन्दुस्तान को आज़ाद करने के लिये प्रयत्न करते हैं, उसी प्रकार अन्य पार्टियों को भी अपना २ काम करने की इजाज़त दें । हमें दलीलों और प्रमाणों से अपने रिवोल्यूशनरी दोस्तों को अपनी कांग्रेस की तरफ खैंचना चाहिये । लेकिन ऐसे

बलजब्री करके उनके खिलाफ कहना अहिंसा का प्रतिकार करना और उनकी हिंसा करना है—और कांग्रेस के क्रीड के बरखिलाफ है।

इस प्रस्ताव में ऐसा भी कहा गया है कि इस से मुल्क को हानि हुई है। मैं ऐसा कहने के लिये इतनी ताकत अपने में नहीं रखता। जब हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद हो जायेगा और हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी का इतिहास आज़ाद तौर से लिखा जायगा—अर्थात् हिन्दुस्तान से अंग्रेज़ों का खौफ़ उठ जायगा, और हमारी आत्मा में इतिहास लिखने के लिये कोई खौफ़ न होगा, तो पता लगेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की सच्ची भलाई किस २ पार्टी से हुई है। (हीयर २)। इस वक्त मेरे मित्रो! मैं समझ नहीं सका, कि औरों के काम की, हम कांग्रेस के लोग, क्यों ज़िम्मेदारी उठावें? जो काम कांग्रेस के बाहर हो रहे हैं, उनकी ज़िम्मेदारी उन पर है जो उन्हें करते हैं। जब हम ऐसा देखते हैं, कि कांग्रेस के बाहर काम करने वाली पार्टियों के काम की ज़िम्मेवारी अपने ऊपर लेकर यह कहते हैं, कि हमारी क्रीड अहिंसा है तो मुझे इस में बू आती है, कि हम डरपोक हैं। हम सरकार को बतलाते हैं कि हम अहिंसक हैं। हमारा क्रीड साफ है, तो फिर हम क्यों उस क्रीड का फेटिश बनाते हैं?

हमारा यह भी कहना है कि यह प्रस्ताव, जो महात्मा गांधी जी ने आपके सामने पेश किया है, उसमें वाइसराय को कांग्रेचूलेशन दी गई है और बम्ब फैंकने वाले की मलामत की गई है। लेकिन सरकार ने जो बम्ब फैंकने के बाद ही गिरिफ्तारी की, जो निर्दोष आदमियों को, जिनका कोई दोष नहीं था, पकड़ कर जेल भेज दिया उस

की मलामत का एक शब्द भी नहीं है। एक तरफ़ से तो आप अपने भाइयों को मलामत देते हैं और जिस अंग्रेज़ी सरकार ने बलजब्री से गरीब आदमियों को, वालन्टियरों को, और दूसरों की अपनी ताकत से गिरिफ्तार किया और बन्दीनिवास में रख दिया उस की मलामत का इज़हार क्यों नहीं करते ?

राष्ट्रपतिः—"हज़रात, इस रिज़ोल्यूशन के ऊपर बोलने के लिये बहुत से नाम आये हुए हैं। रिज़ोल्यूशन के साथ छपे हुए परचे में आपने देखा होगा कितने अमेण्डमेंट हैं—उस के अलावा और भी परचे आ रहे हैं। अगर आप इजाज़त दें तो दो चार और स्पीचें हो जाये"। ("हां, हां") डाक्टर आलम साहब कुछ कहेंगे।

इस के पश्चात् डाक्टर आलम साहब बोलने के लिये आये।

डाक्टर आलम का भाषण।

(देखो अङ्गरेजी विभाग पृष्ठ ८५)

डाक्टर आलम साहब ने कहा :—"भाइयो और बहिनो, मैं यकीनन इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की मुख़ालिफ़त के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ, और मुझे इसके लिये रंज है। लेबरपार्टी हमारी कौम के साथ अमन के राह पर चल रही है, हमें भी उसको साथ चलाना चाहिये यह कहा जाता है, मुझे इससे इख़्तिलाफ़ है।

आप के सामने यह तजवीज़ डाक्टर अन्सारी और महात्मा गांधी जी ने पेश की है। मैं यह भी जानता हूं कि और सहबान की भी तकरीरें होने वाली हैं। मैं आप से कहूंगा कि आप अच्छी तरह समझ

लीजिये कि सवाल क्या है, फिर इस पर राय दीजिये। किसी शखसीयत की वजह से अपनी राय दूसरी तरफ न दें।

सवाल यह नहीं है कि मुल्क के लिये तशद्दुद या अदमेतशद्दुद का तरीका अच्छा है। आपके सामने जो दो तकरीरें हुई हैं, उन में यह दलील दी गयी है कि अदमेतशद्दुद का तरीका अच्छा है। हजूर अदमे तशद्दुद का तरीका अच्छा न होता तो क्यों हम आज १० वर्ष से आपके साथ होते। (हास्य ध्वनि) वह यकीनन अच्छा है। सब जगह गली, गली, कूचे, कूचे में यह सिखा रहे हैं, क्या आपको यकीन नहीं कि हम कितना नुकसान उठा कर अब तक इसको मानते हैं।

"........" हम मर मिटें, अब तक एतबार होता........" (हास्य ध्वनि) सवाल यह है कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन का पेश करना ज़रूरी है या नहीं ? अदमेतशद्दुद का तरीका बहेतरीन तरीका है। इस पर चलने के लिये हम नवजवानों को रोज़ बतलाते रहते हैं। हमें यह भी यकीन है कि इस से हमें कामयाबी होगी। लेकिन ख्याल यह है कि इस तजवीज़ को पेश करना चाहिये, या नहीं। जैसा महात्मा जी ने आप से कहा कि आप इस तजवीज़ को ज़रूर पास करेंगे, मैं आप से उसी तरह यह कहूंगा कि आप सब बिलइत्तिफ़ाक़ इस को ना मंज़ूर कर देंगे। यह तजवीज़ नामुनासिब और नुकसानदेह है। आप न इस पर ग़ौर करेंगे और न राय देंगे। इस का एक हिस्सा यह है कि हम अदमेतशद्दुद का फिर से एलान करते हैं। मैं पूछता हूं कि आप को अपने इरादे के दुबारा ज़ाहिर करने की क्या ज़रूरत है ? इस तरह इरादे को दुहरा कर आप अपने इमान को कमज़ोर तो नहीं बतलाते ? हमने अपने इरादे

का एक बार एलान कर दिया है। फिर आये दिन उस इरादे के एलान की क्या ज़रूरत मालूम होती है ? अगर हर जगह इसकी ज़रूरत मालूम होगी तो कांग्रेस की ताकत इस में ही सर्फ हो जायेगी और कोई काम बाकी न रह जायेगा।

दूसरा हिस्सा यह है कि आज जिस किसी ने तशद्दुद किया है हम उसकी मलामत करते हैं और वाइसराय साहब को मुबारकबाद देते हैं, कि वह बच गये। यह नाजायज़ और नुकसानदेह है। ऐसा करने से हकूमत का हाथ मज़बूत होता है। इस से हुकूमत गुनहगारों को नाजायज़ तकलीफ़ देती है और दूसरे बहुतसे बेगुनहगारों को तंग करती है।

लाहौर में हमने देखा है कि हाइकोर्ट में बयान देते हैं, मुकदमा चलाते हैं। जब मामला खिलाफ़ होने वाला हुआ तो उसे छोड़ दिया गया। ऐसी तजवीज़ से हुकूमत के जुल्म का दरवाज़ा खुल जाता है। गवर्नमेण्ट का हाथ ज़बरदस्त हो जाता है। फिर यह मुबारकबादी का सिलसिला क्या है ! क्या हम इन्सान नहीं हैं ? क्या हम में फितरत नहीं है ? उस शेर की तसवीर को आप देखते हैं। (लाला लाजपतराय जी की तसवीर की ओर हाथ करके) जब इस पर लाठी चलायी गई। जब लाला लाजपतराय पर चोट लगायी गयी तो कहाँ मलामत का इज़हार हुआ ? अगर हुकूमत हमारे साथ अफ़सोस का इज़हार नहीं करती तो हम क्यों मुबारकबाद देते हैं ? पंजाब के लोगों को नहीं, सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को इससे चोट लगी, मगर गवर्नमेण्ट ने उस अम्ल के दरियाफ्त करने के लिये एक कमेटी भी नहीं बनाई। हम तो यह समझते हैं

कि वह हमारे देश के दुश्मन हैं। हम अदमेतशद्दुद को उसी तरह मानते हैं जैसे महात्मा जी, इस मुबारकबाद को नहीं मानते ?—(हास्य ध्वनि)—

एक और वजह है जो हम महात्मा जी और दूसरे सरदारों की खिदमत में रखेंगे, जिससे कि वह इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को वापस ले लें। वह वजह एक दूसरे असूल पर है। हम नवजवानों को अदमेतशद्दुद के असूल पर ला रहे हैं। हम कोशिश करते हैं कि उन को (नवजवानों को) अपने नज़दीक लायें—आप इन रिज़ोल्यूशनों से उन को दूर फेंकते हैं। अगर वह हमारे नज़दीक आयेंगे तो आप उनको अदमेतशद्दुद सिखला सकेंगे—लेकिन अगर आये दिन आप उनकी मलामत करेंगे तो ग़लत रास्ते पर चले जायेंगे। गलत राह पर चलना मुल्क के लिये नुकसान देह होगा। इसलिये अदमेतशद्दुद की तालीम देने के लिये मैं ज़रूरी समझता हूं कि आप इस तजवीज़ को वापस ले लें। और मुबारकबाद देकर नवजवानों की मलामत न करें। मैं यह अदम तशद्दद के असूल को सामने रक्ख कर ही कहता हूं।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय :—"अब हबीबुल रहमान साहब बोलेंगे।

श्री हबीबुल रहमान का भाषण।

श्री हबीबुल रहमान साहब ने कहा :—"जनाबे सद्र, भाइयो और बहिनों मैं आपके सामने इस वक्त जो तजवीज़ महात्मा गांधी जी ने पेश की है, उस के मुताल्लिक अपने ख्यालात रक्खूँगा। कब्ल इस के कि मैं कुछ कहूँ मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस वक्त हमाराकाम

सिर्फ़ जोश दिखलाना नहीं है बल्कि उसके साथ होश की भी ज़रूरत है। जिस जोश के साथ होश नहीं, वह एक भांप है। जिस में होश भी है वह इन्जन बनकर गाड़ी को दूर ले जा सकता है। हर नवजवान बड़े बड़े अलफाज़ कहा करता है। मैं उसकी मलामत नहीं करता। जो नेक नीयती से कोई काम करता है। लेकिन मैं यह कहूँगा कि हमारा और कांग्रेस का क्रीड अदमेतशद्दुद है। बार २ यहाँ पर यह कहा गया है कि अदमेतशद्दुद बेहतर है या तशद्दुद। मेरा दिल अन्दर से नवजवानों के साथ है जो मुल्क की खिदमत, करते हैं। मैं नवजवानों को कांग्रेस के करीब लाने का दावा नहीं करता न उनको दावत देता हूँ—लेकिन जब मैं कांग्रेस क्रीड पर दस्तख़त करता हूँ, मेरा फर्ज़ है कि मैं अदमेतशद्दुद का एलान करूँ।

आप देखें, जिस मेरे भाई ने वाइसराय की ट्रेन पर बम्ब मारा है उसने कांग्रेस के क्रीड के मुताबिक यह काम नहीं किया। हमारा काम है कि कांग्रेस के क्रीड को कायम रक्खें। बाज़ लोग यह कहते हैं कि ऐसी तजवीज़ से मुल्क में मुखालफ़त हो जायगी। मैं उन्हें समझता हूँ—जानता हूँ। जो मैं कहता हूँ कि असली मुलज़िम गिरिफ्तार न हो सके तो कितने बेगुनाहों को पकड़ कर जेल में भेजेंगे—कितने गवाह रुपये देकर बना लेंगे?

तशद्दुद के काम को अभी खुशामदीद नहीं कह सकते। लाहौर केस में कितने अप्रूवर बने? कितने फँसे हैं? कितने और टूटने को हैं? अदमेतशद्दुद से सच्चा इम्तिहान होता है। अगर हम

अदमेतशद्दुद से मुल्क में कुर्बानी न करेंगे तो हमारी सच्चाई का इम्तिहान न होगा।

आखिर में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। सुन लीजिये मेरा दिल हर उस शख्स के साथ है जो कुर्बानी करता है। मैंने इन्कुआरी कमेटी के सामने शहादत देते हुए कहा था कि हर उस शख्स को स्पेशल क्लास दिया जाय, जो मुल्क की खिदमत करके जेल में आया है। लेकिन कोई मुल्क तरक्की नहीं कर सकता जो अपने रहनुमाओं के बतलाये हुए रास्ते पर न चले। आज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर महात्मा जी की जगह दूसरा कोई इस मुल्क की रहनुमाई करने वाला हो तो मैं इस प्रस्ताव की मुखालफत करता हूँ—(बैठ जाओ २) मैं कहूँगा जो मुल्क की रहनुमाई करने को तैयार है वह इस स्टेज पर आये—(वापस जाओ २)—इस लिये आप का फ़र्ज़ है कि आप महात्मा जी की रहनुमाई को कायम रखें। मैं इसलिये इसकी ताईद करता हूँ।"

एच० डी० राजा का भाषण।

इस के बाद मिस्टर एच० डी० राजा ने अंग्रेज़ी में भाषण दिया। और फिर श्री बाबू पुरुषोत्तमदास टंडन जी मंच पर आये।

बाबू पुरुषोत्तमदास जी टंडन का भाषण।

पुरुषोत्तम दास जी टँडन ने कहा :—"सभापति जी, और भाइयो, मैं उस प्रस्ताव का जो हम सबके श्रद्धा के पात्र महात्माजी ने आप के सामने पेश किया है, समर्थन करने आया

हूँ (यपोड़ी बजी)—(शेम शेम) । मैं डाक्टर अन्सारी के इस कहने से कि जो तरीका बंब फैंकने में अख्तियार किया गया था वह बुज़ादिलाना था इत्तिफ़ाक़ नहीं करता—

राष्ट्रपति महोदयः"—आप लोगों ने यह सुना होगा कि बहुत से लोग डेलीगेट नहीं हैं जो शोर मचा रहे हैं, लाल झंडा दिखा रहे हैं । आप लोग दर्शक हैं । आप का काम देखना है दिखाना नहीं, सुनना है सुनाना नहीं । डेलीगेट साहबान को भी शोर नहीं मचाना चाहिये, सब से आसान तरीका आप के लिये यह है कि अगर आप एक चीज़ को पसन्द नहीं करते तो उसे मंज़ूर न करें "—

श्री टंडन जी ने अपना भाषण फिर आरम्भ किया और कहा :—"हमारे भाई डाक्टर अन्सारी साहब ने प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए यह फर्माया था कि बम्ब फैंकना बुज़दिलाना तरीका है । मैं उनके इन अलफाज़ से इत्तिफ़ाक़ नहीं करता । मेरा खुद ख्याल है किजो लोग बम्ब फैंकते हैं, और हमारे मुल्क के ऊपर जो तशद्दुद इस गवर्नमेण्ट के ज़रिये से हो रहा है, उस का बदला बम्ब के ज़रिये से लिया जाता है । वह हर्गिज़ बुज़दिलाना तो नहीं है । लेकिन देखना तो यह है कि वह रिज़ोल्यूशन जो आपके सामने पेश है वह इस वक्त दुरस्त है या नहीं ।

मेरे भाई स्वामी गोविन्दा नन्द ने और डाक्टर आलम ने बहुत ज़ोर से अहिंसा के असूल में अपना विश्वास ज़ाहिर किया है । स्वामी गोविन्दानन्द ने तो यहां तक कहा कि अहिंसा के सिद्धान्त में उनको उतना ही भरोसा है, जितना महात्मा गांधी को ! और डाक्टर आलम ने भी अदमतशद्दुद के असूल में पूरे तौर पर अपना इत्तिफ़ाक ज़ाहिर किया । मैं तो चाहता

हूं कि मैं भी महात्मा जी का उतना ही भक्त बनजाऊँ जितना यह लोग हैं। लेकिन मैं तो अहिंसा के मार्ग का अनुयायी होने के बावजूद भी अब तक "तस्माद्युद्धस्व भारत" इस गीता के वाक्य को मानता हूँ। मैं इस का अध्यात्मिक अर्थ नहीं लगाता। मैं स्पष्ट कह देना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक मैं अहिंसा का अर्थ उतने दूर तक नहीं मानता जितना महात्मा गांधी। इस लिये इस विषय में मैं स्वामी गोविन्दानन्द और डाक्टर आज़म को अपने से ज़्यादा आगे बढ़ा हुआ मानता हूँ। मगर उनकी दलील को नहीं समझता! मैं अहिंसा में उतनी अच्छी तरह विश्वास न रखता हुआ भी समझता हूँ कि यह प्रस्ताव उचित है।

आप का जो क्रीड है, नीति की दृष्टि से भी, सिद्धान्त और स्वराज्य की नीति दोनों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए मेरा निश्चय है कि आप इस प्रस्ताव को अवश्य स्वीकार करेंगे। आज हम अपने कांग्रेस की बागडोर महात्मा जी को सुपुर्द करना चाहते हैं। साधारण डिसिपलिन यह चाहती है कि समझ बूझ कर जो नेता खड़ा है, उस के हाथ में जो झंडा है, हम उसे घसीटेंगे नहीं!

आप अपने हृदय में बैठ कर देखें कि क्या आप तैयार हैं? मैं समझता हूँ जैसा मैंने कहा कि यदि समय आजाय और तलवार लेकर हुकूमत से लड़ना पड़े तो वह नाजायज़ हो होसकता है। मैं खुले तौर पर कहूँगा कि लड़ना चाहिये। मैं इसे न पाप मानता हूँ न बुज़दिली! लेकिन इस में सवाल यह है कि क्या इस वक्त हमारे मुल्क के लिये और जनता के लिये यह बेहतर बात होसकती है! तो मुल्क की हालत देखते हुए, यह समझते हुए कि हम अहिंसा का सिद्धान्त मानते हैं,

महात्मा जी हमारे नेता हैं, उनका नेतृत्व मानते हुए आप इन लोगों की लम्बी चौड़ी बातों में न बहक जायेंगे और इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेंगे"।

बाबा गुरुदित सिंह का भाषण।

बाबा गुरुदित सिंह ने कहा :—"प्रधान साहब, मेरे भाईयो और बहिनों, मैं महात्मा गांधी को हिन्दुस्तान का महान् नेता मानते हुए भी उन के फ़िक़रों को वापस कराने आया हूँ, जो वाइसराय की बधाई के लिये हैं। आप के सामने यह कोई सवाल नहीं है कि हमारे नेता या लीडर उस को अच्छा समझते हैं। सवाल तो यह है कि पब्लिक के विचार क्या हैं? जो पब्लिक का विचार जब देखा जायेगा तो, हमारे जैसे बूढ़ों को छोड़ कर सब उस के ख़िलाफ़ होंगे, (हास्य ध्वनि) इस लिये मैं कहूँगा कि इस वक्त वाइसराय को बधाई देना एक तो अंग्रेज़ों को धोका देना और दूसरे अपने नवजवानों को नाराज़ करना है। और हमारे लीडरों की सच्चाई में फ़रक़ भी आता है। क्यों कि जब हम समझते हैं कि प्रजा या नवजवान क्या चाहते हैं तो ख़ामुख़ाह खुशामद क्यों करते हैं।

मैं जानता हूँ कि आज तक सरकार की तरफ़ से कितनी दफ़े गोली चली है परन्तु अफ़सोस का अज़हार कभी नहीं हुआ। क्या आप लोग सोचते हैं कि यह रिज़ोल्यूशन इस वक्त पास होजायगा तो नवजवानों को हमारे साथ करेगा—उन्हें और दूर करेगा। (एक आवाज़ किसने बंम्ब फेंका,)—हम क्यों ख़ामख़ाह जान बूझ कर खुशामद

करने जायें ? हम लोग क़ानून पर चलना चाहते हैं । क़ानून सब मनुष्यों को इजाज़त देता है कि जुल्म करने, वाला धोके से बाहर चला जाय तो अगर हम गुलामी में रहना नहीं चाहते तो उस में से निकल जायें। अगर कोई गुलामी नहीं चाहता तो वह मनुष्य हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर जायगा या बधाई देने जायगा ? (हास्य ध्वनि) मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक्त जो यह कार्रवाई हुई है वह C- I. D. ने की होगी । यह भी कहता हूँ कि कोई किसी का घर लूटने जाय और गोली, तलवार, बन्दूक से लूटने जाय, तो घर वाला गोली तलवार से अपना घर बचायेगा । हम क्यों ख़ामख़ाह एक बात में पड़ें और बधाई दें । हम तो साफ़ २ कहते हैं कि जब वोट लेंगे तो बूढ़ों को छोड़ कर सब इस के ख़िलाफ़ होंगे । और बूढ़े भी क्यों ? (हास्य ध्वनि) बूढ़ों के दिल में भी तो यही है । हाँ बाहर वह नहीं कहना चाहते ! (हास्य ध्वनि) उन्हें यह ख्याल है कि हमारे नवजवान फांसी पर न चढ़ें । मगर महात्मा गांधी को अपने हुकम पर डटा रहना चाहिये—चोरा चौरा के मामले में उन्हों ने कहा था कि जिसने यह काम किया है उसे खुद आकार फांसी पर चढ़जाना चाहिये । हम नहीं जानते कि नवजवान कांग्रेस पर क़बजा करेंगे तो क्या करेंगे । यह काम किसने किया यह पता नहीं । नवजवानों को कंडेम करके जोश पैदा करने की हम ज़रूरत नहीं समझते ।

साथ में क्यों लोरन्स का बुत खड़ा करके उस के हाथ में तलवार रखकर हमें चिढ़ाते हैं ? बंगाल में इसी तरह का बुत है—नील का बुत इसी तरह मद्रास में है जो तलवार लेकर खड़ा किया गया है ।

यह तलवार हमारे नवजवानों को जोश दिलाती है। महात्मा गांधीजी शुरू में कहते हैं कि इन बुतों को तोड़ो—(हीयर, हीयर) जब घर लूटने वाला तलवार रखता है तो हम किसे समझा सकते हैं। हम सत्याग्रह और शान्ति का प्रचार भी करेंगे। मगर कांग्रेस पुलीस तो नहीं है। वह किसी से ज़बरदस्ती तो कुछ नहीं करासकती। मैं इस लिये इस प्रसताव का सख़्त विरोध करता हूँ कि यह मौक़ा वधाई कानहीं है"।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय :—"हज़रात, मैंने आप से शुरू में राय ली थी कि कितने लोग इस तजवीज़ पर बोलें। आप ने कहा था कि दो चार से ज्यादा की ज़रूरत नहीं है। अब आप ने काफ़ी तक़रीरें सुन ली हैं। अभी एक साहब ने कहा है कि मुबाहिसा बन्द होना चाहिये। इस के मानी यह हैं कि जिस ने रिज़ोल्यूशन पेश किया है उस को अख़्तियार है कि जवाब दें। अगर महात्मा गांधी जी चाहेंगे तो जवाब देंगे"।

महात्मा जी इस के पश्चात जय २ घोष के बीच में सभा मंच पर आये।

महात्मा गांधी जी का भाषण।

महात्मा जी ने कहा :—"भाइयो और बहिनो, मैं जानता हूँ कि पिछले वक्त इस प्रस्ताव पर मैंने काफ़ी कहा है—अगर मैं अब कुछ भी न बोलूँ तो अच्छा रहे। लेकिन किसी को खास चीज़ में बहुत एतबार रहता है तो उसके लिये लाग रहती है कि कुछ भी बोल दें संभव है कि जो चीज़ हम समझाना चाहते हैं लोग समझ जायेंगे। इसी लाग से मैं यहाँ आगया।

आपकी यह कांग्रेस एक बड़ा काम उठाने वाली है। यह उम्मीद है। आप बड़ी उम्मीद से यहाँ इकट्ठे हुए हैं। और वह यह है कि इस कांग्रेस में यह अंगीकार करते है कि स्वराज्य के माने स्वतन्त्र हिन्दुस्तान है मेरे नज़दीक स्वतंत्र हिन्दुस्तानी हम तब हो सकते हैं, जब जो कौमें हिन्दुस्तान में रहती हैं उनकी स्वतंत्रता को हम कायम करें। अगर, यह बात जो मैं आप से कह रहा हूँ, सही है, तो आज हमारा क्या धर्म हो जाता है, और आज जो यह प्रस्ताव है उसके बारे में क्या धर्म हो जाता है ? कोई भी अँग्रेज़, छोटा सा लड़का भी, एक अदना अँग्रेज़ को हम यह कह सकते हैं कि जितने भी हिन्दुस्तानी स्वतन्त्र है उसके हिफाज़त की ज़िम्मेदारी हिन्दुस्तान पर है। इस में डर की कोई बात भी नहीं है। आज तो आप इतने जोश में आकर यह न समझें-मगर मैं इतना जानता हूँ कि आप भी इसे समझ लेंगे।

कितने भाई आये जिन्होंने मुख़ालफ़त की। स्वामी गोविन्दानन्द और डाक्टर आलम यह भी कहते हैं कि रिज़ोल्यूशन की ज़रूरत नहीं है। लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि फिर इसके माने नानवायेलेन्स के नहीं और डाक्टर आलम ने यह दावा किया कि वह नानवायेलेन्स मानते हैं। कोई भी काम करें, मैं यह कहता हूँ कि हमको यह कहना चाहिये कि हमने यह किया है। लेकिन अभी थोड़े दिनों में हवा बदल गई है। एक काम जो अभी वाइलेन्स का हुआ उसके लिये कहा जाता है कि कोई काम करने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। हम अपना काम करते हैं वह अपना करें। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह हिन्दुस्तान को आज़ाद करने का तरीक़ा नहीं है। साथ ही यह कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की

कांग्रेस सब से बड़ी संस्था है। ऐसा है तो जो काम होता है कांग्रेस अपनी राय ज़ाहिर कर देगी।

अगर आप रिज़ोल्यूशन को फेंक देना चाहते हैं तो फेंक दें। कांग्रेस के क्रीड को भी फेंक देना चाहते हैं तो फेंक दें। लेकिन अगर कांग्रेस का क्रीड रहता है तो आप इस रिज़ोल्यूशन के अलावा कोई काम नहीं कर सकते। एक बात और कही गयी है जिस को सुनकर मुझे तकलीफ़ हुई है। वह यह कि अगर कांग्रेस इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को लेलेगी तो नवजवान गुस्सा होंगे। और कांग्रेस को भी छोड़ देंगे। यह क्या बात? आख़िर मैं नवजवानों को नहीं पहचानता हूँ। ऐसा नहीं। हज़ारों नवजवानों से मिला हूँ······ यूरोप में भी हज़ारों से मिला हूँ। किसी ने किसी बात में मेरा विरोध नहीं किया। यहां भी हमारे पास आ जाते हैं—तो मुझे इस बात का डर नहीं है कि एक भी नवजवान सच्ची बात कहूँ—या कांग्रेस में ज़ोर से एक बात कहूँ तो वह मुझ से हट जायगा। लेकिन मान भी लें कि नवजवानों को इस में रंज पैदा होता है। रंज भी होंगे तो भी जो हिन्दुस्तान के हित के लिये, धर्म के लिये बात है वह हम करते रहेंगे। ईश्वर ताक़त दे कि हम और अच्छी बात करें। अगर मैं अपने कर्त्तव्य को छोड़ देता हूँ, इस लिये कि लोग मुझ को छोड़ देंगे, तो मैं समझूँगा कि मैं कांग्रेस का सेवक होने के लायक़ नहीं हूँ। या समझिये कि कांग्रेस का आज्ञाकारी होने के लायक नहीं हूँ। अगर कांग्रेस को आप मानते हैं। तो आप का यह काम है कि जो बात आप मानते हैं। सच्ची मानते हैं उस को करें। आप लोग यह मानते हैं कि स्वराज्य होना चाहिये, आप बड़ा काम उठाना चाहते हैं,

राष्ट्रवादी बनना चाहते हैं, मैं बड़े अदब से यह अपने उन मित्रों से कबूल करूँगा कि उसके लिये आप में शक्ति नहीं है। जो चीज़ आप में नहीं है उसको आप छिपाना चाहते हैं। हम में शक्ति है या नहीं परन्तु हम इन्डिपेन्डेन्स चाहते हैं। हम लोग छोटे मुँह बड़ी बात करने का इरादा करते हैं तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप नये प्रोग्राम पर चलना चाहते हैं तो आप दिल को साफ़ करके चलें।

आप से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप को इस प्रस्ताव में से डरपोकपन की बू आती है, बू का अर्थ बदबू है। आप देखें कि इस में अंग्रेज़ों की खुशामद की बात क्या है? इस में खुशामद की तो कोई बात नहीं है। कांग्रेस ने तो खुशामद करना छोड़ दिया है। इन्डिपेन्डेन्स की बात एक तरफ़ और खुशामद की बात दूसरी तरफ़, यह ज़हनियत निकाल दीजिये। जो आदमी कर्त्तव्य को भूल जाता है तो वह डरपोक होता है। जो ईश्वर को छोड़ कर किसी से नहीं डरता वह बंब फेंकने वाले से क्यों डरे? जो हमारा कर्त्तव्य है, जो क्रीड है मैं उस को मानता हूँ। जो लोग कांग्रेस के क्रीड के माफ़िक नहीं हैं और वह उस का इज़हार करते हैं इस तरीके पर तो जो शख्स ऐसा काम करता है कांग्रेस उस के लिये ज़रूर कहेगी कि वह क्या काम है, कैसा काम है। अगर वह आदमी गुस्से में भी आजाये तो भी यह करना होगा। जब २ ऐसा मौका आया है लोग गुस्से हुए हैं। नवजवानों ने समझ लिया है कि यह विचार है। बस मेरा कहना यह है कि आप लोग समझें कि आप प्रतिनिधि बनकर आये हैं। आप लोग प्रतिज्ञा करके आये हैं, आप ईश्वर को मानते हैं, सदाकृत को मानते हैं,

कांग्रेस को मानते हैं तो यह समझ लें कि कांग्रेस को या किस को मानते हैं। ईश्वर को मानते हैं तो ईश्वर को दरमियान रखकर जो ठीक हो वह करें। अगर ठीक नहीं है। तो रिज़ोल्यूशन को फेंक दें। (अंग्रेज़ी २)—महात्मा जी अंग्रेज़ी में बोले।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय "हज़रात, अब में आप की राय लूँगा। लेकिन याद रक्खें कि राय का अख्तियार सिर्फ़ डेलीगेटों को है। अब आप मेहरबानी करके अपनी राय हाथ उठा कर दें, जब तक गिना जाय हाथ उठाये रहें—जितनी आवाज़ होगी उतना काम ख़राब होगा। जो डेलीगेट हैं उन को ही राय का अख्तियार है।"

राय लेने पर प्रस्ताव पास हुआ :—

६४२ पक्ष में	७८४ विपक्ष
(डिवीज़न)	(डिवीज़न)

राष्ट्रपति :—"कल डिवीज़न होगा"। अब दूसरा प्रस्ताव महात्मा गांधी जी पेश करेंगे।

इस के बाद महात्मा जी दूसरा प्रस्ताव पेश करने मचं पर आये—जय २ घोष हुआ।

महात्मा गांधी जी का भाषण।

पूर्ण स्वाधीनता के प्रस्ताव पर भाषण देते हुए महात्मा गांधीजी ने कहा "सदर साहब, भाइयो और बहिनो, मेरी उम्मीद है कि अब लाउडस्पीकर अपना काम देगा! (हासध्वनि) क्या लाउडस्पीकर अब काम दे रहा ? (हां, हां,)।

पहले तो आप सब भाइयों और बहिनों से मैं माफ़ी मांग लेना चाहता हूं। आप लोगों ने इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध किया, अपने अमेण्डमेण्ट पेश किये उन सब बहस को सुनने के लिये मैं यहां हाज़िर नहीं रह सका। इसको बेअदबी माना जा सकता है। लेकिन आप मुझ को लाचार समझें। सभापति जी की आज्ञा लेकर, चुंकि मैं बहुत थका हुआ था, चला गया, और कुदरत की चीज़ भी तो आप जानते हैं, कि कोई रोक नहीं सकता। हाजत के लिये चला गया। पैगाम आया तो वापस आया। मुझे थोड़ा दुःख है कि जो कुछ मेरे भाइयों ने इस सम्बन्ध में कहा मैं उसे सुन नहीं सका। तो भी चूंकि मैंने अमेण्डमेण्ट सब के सब पढ़ लिये हैं और इन भाइयों की बहस मैंने सब्जेक्टस कमेटी में सुन ली थी, इस लिये मैं, इन्होंने क्या क्या कहा है, इतना काम चला सकता हूँ।

दूसरे यह भी बात है कि मेरा तरीका कोई बहस करने का या उत्तर देने का नहीं है। लेकिन जो कहना चाहता हूं वह भी कह दूं तो काफ़ी काम हो जाता है। जब मैंने देखा कि प्रस्ताव सुना दिया जाय तो राष्ट्र भाषा में मेरे मान्य पंडित मोती लाल ने इस प्रस्ताव के मानी क्या है यह सुना दिया। उसका कारण क्या है, यह भी सुना दिया। सभापति महाशय ने कहा कि जो कुछ मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में आप को सुना दूं। क्योंकि तामिल और बंगाली लोगों को भी सुनाना चाहिये। मैंने सभापति महोदय से यह कहा कि मेरे पास कोई नई बात नहीं है। आप को मालूम है कि आप का पैग़ाम लेकर वाइसराय के पास हम लोग चले गये थे। जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा

है वह लेकर आप के सामने खड़ा हूं। जो कुछ भी राय होसकती थी वार्किंग कमेटी की तरफ़ से सबजेक्टस कमेटी में पेश की गयी थी, अब आप के पास आयी है।

आप लोगों ने देखा है कि इस प्रस्ताव के ३ हिस्से हैं—ज्यादा भी बन सकते हैं। अब मैं तीनों हिस्सों को लेना चाहता हूं। एक तो प्रस्तावना या दीबाचा है। उसका मुख्य मतलब यह है कि सम्पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता हो। यह बात जो पहले सोची गयी थी उसका मौका आगया है। इसका सबब बताने के लिये जो अगली चीज़ है वह आप देखेंगे कि वर्किंग कमेटी ने क्या क्या किया। वाइसराय के बारे में क्या हुआ। यह सब चीज़ें आप सब अच्छी तरह समझ लें। यह प्रस्ताव एक मकान है। इसमें से एक ईंट निकाल दें तो मकान कमज़ोर हो जाता है। एक दीवार निकाल दें तो मकान गिर जाता है। यह ऐसा है कि इसमें से एक चीज़ को ले लें तो आप उसके स्वरूप को काट डालते हैं, मकान को ढाह देते हैं। सूरत को बदसूरत कर देते हैं। आप कृपा करके यह समझते हैं तो जितने अमेण्डमेण्ट हैं उनको गिरा दें।

आप एक बात पर गौर करें। आप एक वर्किंग कमेटी हर साल बना देते हैं। ३६० दिन तक (वर्ष भर) उस कमेटी का काम है कि वह देखे कि कांग्रेस के लिये क्या करना चाहिये क्या नहीं। उसका काम है कि क्या मंजूर करे और फिर यहां रक्खे। अगर पूरा काम वर्किंग कमेटी पर छोड़ दें तो नुकसान हो सकता है। आप उसमें जो पसन्द करें वह ठीक कर दें। वर्किंग कमेटी प्रस्ताव को सब्जेक्ट्स

कमेटी के सामने पेश करती है। वहां भी छान बीन होकर फिर वह आप के सामने पेश होता है। तो जो प्रस्ताव आपके सामने मेरे नाम से, पंडित जी के नाम से रक्खा गया है उसकी छानबीन होगई है, तो आप इसमें अब कोई परिवर्त्तन न करें।

ज़रा देखिये, कि इसमें क्या क्या बातें बतलाई गई हैं। एक चीज़ तो वाइसराय के बारे में है। मैं कहूंगा कि जो हिन्दूस्तान की अज़ादी चाहते हैं वह भी बुनियादी असूल नहीं छोड़ेंगे। उसमें अपनी दृढ़ता और वीरता, बहादुरी नहीं छोड़ेंगे। बहादुरी घमंड में नहीं आती ! आपको इसका विरोध नहीं करना चाहिये। सच्चा बहादुर तो दुश्मन की भी तारीफ़ करने पर तैयार होगा। मान लो कि वाइसराय हमारा दुश्मन है। ब्रृटिश सल्तनत का हिन्दूस्तान में प्रतिनिधि है। सल्तनत को दुश्मन मानते हैं, इसलिये मानते हैं कि वह दुश्मन है—लेकिन दुश्मन के भी इन्सानियत होती है। तो इन्सानियत के तौर पर यह बात की गयी है—लेकिन वाइसराय तो असर रखता है। हमारी क़ौम पर हुकूमत करता है। हर इन्सान के लिए ख्याल रखना हमारा काम है। यह सत्य है कि वाइसराय सल्तनत को कायम रखने के लिये काम करता है। परन्तु फिर भी जो कुछ उन्होंने किया है उसके लिये यह लिखा गया है। और चूंकि सबजेकटकमेटी में इस पर बहस हुई थी इसलिये कुछ न कुछ इस वक्त यहां भी कह दिया है।

दूसरे अमेगडमेग्ट भी दिये गये हैं—उनके बारे में भी कह देना चाहता हूं। एक यह भी कि "मौजूदा हालत में कान्फ्रेन्स में नहीं जाना चाहिये" तो "मौजूदा हालत" का लफ्ज़ निकाल देना चाहिये।"

इस बारे में निहायत अदब के साथ मेरा कहना यह है कि ऐसी कोई बात मेरे ज़ेहन में नहीं है कि आपके प्रतिनिधि को कान्फ्रेंन्स में जाने की ज़रूरत है। जब भी इंगलैण्ड मजबूर होगा तो ऐसी बात हो सकती है कि जाना ज़रूरी हो जाय। मौजूदा हालत में ऐसा मौका नहीं है। लेकिन आ भी सकता है। तो इतना इसके बारे में कह देना चाहता हूं कि इससे यह माना जायगा कि कान्फ्रेन्स में जा भी सकते हैं। लेकिन इसका यह मतलब नहीं है कि मौजूदा हालत में जा सकते हैं। अगर मौजूदा हालत को निकाल दें तो क्या रह जाता है? तो इस चीज़ को आप नहीं निकाल सकते।

एक चीज़ और है जो सबजेक्ट कमेटी में कही गयी थी। कौन्सिलों के बारे में कहा गया था। मेरे भाई जमुनादास महता ने कहा कि गांधी ने यह नहीं कहा है कि कौन्सिलों का बहिष्कार करना चाहिये। डिमोक्रैसी के युग में एक शख्स की राय नहीं माननी चाहिये—तो यह कहना पड़ेगा कि जो चीज़ पसन्द हो वह करें। कैसा भी बड़ा आदमी हो वह हुक्म तो नहीं दे सकता। मैं क्या हूं? कौम का बन्दा कौम का नौकर बन कर, प्रस्ताव बनाता हूं। तो मुझे क्या अधिकार है कि हुक्म दूं? मैं तो राय दे सकता हूं। यह साफ़ है कि बुरे विचार से नहीं कहता हूं। सब काम और बात को विचार कर यह कहा जाता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि कौन्सिलों से बहुत कुछ मिल सकता है। जितना चाहें लेलें। आप कौन्सिलों और असेम्ब्ली से लिया ही करते हैं। जो कुछ चाहें अपने भाइयों और भतीजों के लिये आपको मिल सकता है। भाई भतीजों को छोड़कर हिन्दुस्तान के लिये

भी मिल सकता है। मदरसों के लिये हज़ार गुना रुपया मिल सकता है? सल्तनत को सुरक्षित रखते हुए कुछ न कुछ मिल सकता है? लोग घरों में कुत्ते और बैल भी तो रखते ही हैं। जानवर भी रखते हैं। गुलामों को भी रखते थे। गाय कुत्ते बैलों को कुछ न कुछ मिलता ही है। गुलामों को भी खाना तो खिला देते हैं। लेकिन जानवर तो जानवर ही होता है?

कौन्सिल और असेम्ब्ली से कुछ न कुछ मिल सकता है इस में शक नहीं। लेकिन अगर आप आज़ादी चाहते हैं तो उनसे क्या मिल सकता है?

मेरा विश्वास तो मदरसों के बहिष्कार के लिये भी है और वकीलों के लिये भी। मेरा विश्वास तो बहुत सी चीज़ों के लिये है। लेकिन चूंकि मैं तो राय देने वाला हूँ, साय देने वाला हूँ—मैं तो वही करना चाहता हूँ जो और लोगों की राय में भी होने वाला है। कहें पंडित मोतीलाल जी—उन्होंने असेम्ब्ली का तजरबा वहां बैठ कर कर लिया है! उन्होंने असेम्ब्ली में जाकर कुछ न कुछ मुल्क का काम किया। और भी नहीं तो वह आज कौन्सिलों के खिलाफ़ तो हो गये! अब इन लोगों ने देखलिया। पहले इन लोगों ने असेम्ब्ली और कौन्सिल में जाने का ख्याल किया था—मैंने देखा यह लोग चाहते हैं तो अच्छी तरह काम करके देख लें क्या होता है! यह आप लोग जानते हैं। आप लोग यहां ५ या ६ हज़ार की संख्या में आये हैं। आप अपने अनुभव से कहें कि यह चीज़ ज़रूरी है, इस के बिना स्वराज्य मिलने में देरी लगेगी तो आप ज़रूर इसको फेंक दें—अगर आप

का अनुभव कहता हो कि इस चीज़ से नहीं दूसरी चीज़ से स्वराज्य हासिल करेंगे, तो आप सोच लें। मैं मानता हूँ कि कौन्सिलों से कुछ नहीं होगा। पंडित मोती लाल जी भी ऐसा मानते हैं। वह तो अपने तजरबे से यह मानते हैं। तो आप उचित समझते हैं तो बायकाट को कायम करें और अमेण्डमेण्ट को छोड़ दें।

अब मदरसों की बात आती है। लोग कहते हैं कि मदरसों का बायकाट क्यों नहीं रखा जाता! मैं तो चाहता हूँ सब लड़के नवजवान भेंट चढ़ जायें। कम से कम १६ वर्ष से ज्यादा के जो हैं वह मैदान में आ जायें—लेकिन क्या वायुमंडल ऐसा है? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि नहीं है। तालीम उनको क्या मिलती है २५ करोड़ रुपया शराब में से, अफ़ीम में से आता है उस से तालीम पाते हैं—वह तालीम किस काम की चीज़ हो सकती है? लेकिन क्या यह समझाने का अवसर है? इतने वर्ष होगये—हमने देख लिया। क्या-आप समझते हैं कि वकील लोग कचहरियों से निकल कर पत्थर तोड़ेंगे, चरखा चलायेंगे? एक वकील ऐसा नहीं। सब को खाना पीना चाहिये—उनको खर्च चाहिये। वह कहते हैं कि हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा! १९२० में जब वकालत छोड़ने को कहा था तो पंडित मोती लाल और देशबन्धु चित्तरंजनदास ने तो अपना काम छोड़ दिया था। लेकिन और छोटे मोटे वकीलों ने नहीं छोड़ा। इस लिये इन सब चीज़ों को साथ साथ चलाने के लायक वायुमंडल नहीं है। इस लिये इन चीज़ों को छोड़ दिया गया है। यह कोई नहीं कहता कि वकील वकालत छोड़ कर गांव में, जायें देहात में जायें, सिखावन देने में हिस्सा लें, तो यह बुरी बात

है। लेकिन यह कहते हैं कि आज हमारे सामने वह वायुमंडल पैदा नहीं हुआ।

दूसरे भी अमेण्डमेंट हैं—उन पर मैं बहस नहीं करना चाहता। एक बात ज़रूर है सिविलडिसोबिडियेन्स को। सब चाहते हैं, मैं भी चाहता हूँ, उस पर कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। लोग कहते हैं उसका एलान सारे हिन्दुस्तान में कर देना चाहिये। मैं भी चाहता हूं कि ऐसा कर सकता। मगर मैं इस के लिये अभी वायुमंडल नहीं देखता। आल इण्डिया कांग्रेसकमेटी पर यह काम छोड़ा है लेकिन अभी मैं वह आबोहवा नहीं देखता कि आलइण्डिया कांग्रेसकमेटी भी कुछ कर सकेगी। आपलोग जो यहां आये हैं उन में अमन होना चाहिये, कांग्रेस का क्रीड पर विश्वास होना चाहिये। कहा जाता है कि यह लोग गुनहगार हैं, जो कानून तोड़ते हैं तो मैं कहता हूँ कि कानून को तोड़ने से गुनहगार नहीं बन जाता। उस में दोष नहीं, उसमें कुछ अच्छाई है। लेकिन उसको तो वह तोड़ सकता है, जिस में अमन अच्छी तरह पैदा हो चुका है। जो कांग्रेस के एलान पर यकीन रखता है, उसकी ताईद करता है। उस पर अमल करता है। आज तो यह देखता हूँ कि हर मनुष्य को डिवीज़न चाहिये। हमारे सामने ऐसी चीज़ नहीं देख पड़ती कि जिस से सिविल-डिसोबिडियेन्स के लिये वायुमंडल पाया जाता हो। ऐसा वायुमंडल नहीं देखता कि १—२ मास में सल्तनत का मुकाबला कर सकें। परमात्मा चाहे तो कर सकते हैं। उसकी बड़ी शक्ति है। वह अब भी देखता है कि हम भूल करते हैं।

जो नवजवान लाल कागज़ के पुरज़े हिला कर, झंडा दिखला कर

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अब मदरसों की बात आती है। लोग कहते हैं कि मदरसों का बायकाट क्यों नहीं रखा जाता! मैं तो चाहता हूँ सब लड़के नवजवान भेंट चढ़ जायें। कम से कम १६ वर्ष से ज्यादा के जो हैं वह मैदान में आ जायें—लेकिन क्या वायुमंडल ऐसा है? मैं तेा कहता हूँ कि नहीं है। तालीम उनको क्या मिलती है २५ करोड़ रुपया शराब में से, अफ़ीम में से आता है उस से तालीम पाते हैं—वह तालीम किस काम की चीज़ हो सकती है? लेकिन क्या यह समझाने का अवसर है? इतने वर्ष होगये—हमने देख लिया। क्या-आप समझते हैं कि वकील लोग कचहरियों से निकल कर पत्थर तोड़ेंगे, चरखा चलायेंगे? एक वकील ऐसा नहीं। सब को खाना पीना चाहिये—उनको खर्च चाहिये। वह कहते हैं कि हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा! १९२० में जब वकालत छोड़ने को कहा था तो पंडित मोती लाल और देशबन्धु चित्तरंजनदास ने तो अपना काम छोड़ दिया था। लेकिन और छोटे मोटे वकीलों ने नहीं छोड़ा। इस लिये इन सब चीज़ों को साथ साथ चलाने के लायक़ वायुमंडल नहीं है। इस लिये इन चीज़ों को छोड़ दिया गया है। यह कोई नहीं कहता कि वकील वकालत छोड़ कर गांव में, जायें देहात में जायें, सिखावन देने में हिस्सा लें, तो यह बुरी बात

है। लेकिन यह कहते हैं कि आज हमारे सामने वह वायुमंडल पैदा नहीं हुआ।

दूसरे भी अमेंगडमेंट हैं—उन पर मैं बहस नहीं करना चाहता। एक बात ज़रूर है सिविलडिसोबिडियेन्स को। सब चाहते हैं, मैं भी चाहता हूँ, उस पर कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। लोग कहते हैं उसका एलान सारे हिन्दुस्तान में कर देना चाहिये। मैं भी चाहता हूं कि ऐसा कर सकता। मगर मैं इस के लिये अभी वायुमंडल नहीं देखता। आल इण्डिया कांग्रेसकमेटी पर यह काम छोड़ा है लेकिन अभी मैं वह आबोहवा नहीं देखता कि आलइण्डिया कांग्रेसकमेटी भी कुछ कर सकेगी। आपलोग जो यहां आये हैं उन में अमन होना चाहिये, कांग्रेस का क्रीड पर विश्वास होना चाहियें। कहा जाता है कि यह लोग गुनहगार हैं, जो कानून तोड़ते हैं तो मैं कहता हूँ कि कानून को तोड़ने से गुनहगार नहीं बन जाता। उस में दोष नहीं, उसमें कुछ अच्छाई है। लेकिन उसको तो वह तोड़ सकता है, जिस में अमन अच्छी तरह पैदा हो चुका है। जो कांग्रेस के एलान पर यकीन रखता है, उसकी ताईद करता है। उस पर अमल करता है। आज तो यह देखता हूँ कि हर मनुष्य को डिवीज़न चाहिये। हमारे सामने ऐसी चीज़ नहीं देख पड़ती कि जिस से सिविल-डिसोबिडियेन्स के लिये वायुमंडल पाया जाता हो। ऐसा वायुमंडल नहीं देखता कि १—२ मास में सल्तनत का मुकाबला कर सकें। परमात्मा चाहे तो कर सकते हैं। उसकी बड़ी शक्ति है। वह अब भी देखता है कि हम भूल करते हैं।

जो नवजवान लाल कागज़ के पुरज़े हिला कर, झंडी दिखला कर

सल्तनत को हटाना चाहते हैं उनसे तो हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा। आज़ादी पाने के लिये तो हाथ में शक्ति आनी चाहिये। कुछ लोग समझते हैं बाअमन रहने से शक्ति नहीं आती, तलवार निकालने से शक्ति आती है। मैं कहता हूँ कि दुश्मन की मारपीट बर्दाश्त करनी चाहिये। सिख भाई १९२१, १९२२ में कतल होगये—वह बहादुर थे। मैं कबूल करता हूँ कि ठंडी ताकत तलवार को निकालने से बड़ी चीज़ है। इस से सिविलडिसोबिडियेन्स का काम अच्छी तरह हो सकता है। अगर कोई भाई यह समझता है कि बाअमन तरीके से सम्पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता नहीं आती तो वह ठंडी ताकत में विश्वास नहीं रखता ठंडी ताकत हमारे में आ जाय तो इण्डिपेण्डन्स हासिल कर सकते हैं।

इण्डिपेण्डेन्स के मानी क्या हैं? इण्डिपेण्डेन्स का मतलब है आज़ादी-वह ७ लाख देहातों को मिलनी चाहिये। इस लिये आप अमेण्डमेन्टस को न मानें—प्रस्ताव को पास करें। एक प्रकार का अमेण्डमेन्ट यह है कि फरवरी तक चलने दिया जाय कोई फैसला न किया जाय। आलपार्टीज़ कान्फ्रेन्स करें। यह बात मुझे पसन्द नहीं है न इसका कुछ नतीजा होगा। दूसरी बात है यह कि परालेल गवर्नमेण्ट कायम की जाय साथ—साथ गवर्नमेण्ट का भय हो। यह सुभाषचन्द्र बोस का अमेण्डमेन्ट है। कलकत्ते में भी यह कहा गया था। मेरे दिल में सुभाषचन्द्र बोस के लिये बड़ा मान है। मुझ को उन्होंने समझ लिया है वह यह है कि मैं ६० वर्ष का होगया हूँ। मेरी ताकत तो गिर गई है वह मुझे चाहें तो गोद में उठा सकते हैं। मगर मेरा दिल नवजवान का है। (हास्य ध्वनि) नवजवान से भी बढ़ सकता हूँ। इस

लिये मैं ऐसा कबूल करता हूँ कि मैं बूढ़ा होगया हूँ तो काम नहीं दे सकती ६० वर्ष के बाद दिमाग़ नहींरह जाता यह कहा जाता है, वह मैं महसूस नहीं करता। मैं आज भी नवजवानों का उपयोग कर सकता हूँ। मुझे ऐसा लगता है—मुझ में ऐसी शक्ति है ऐमा मैं समझता हूँ। आज घोड़े की सवारी भी मिल जाय तो अच्छी बात है मैं उसकी बाग डोर ले लूँगा। घोड़े पर सवारी नहीं करूँगा (हास्यध्वनि) घोड़ा मैं ले जा सकता हूँ। बागडोर के लिये जवाहर लाल नहरु (हास्य ध्वानि)। आज तो बागडोर नवजवानों के हाथ में है। उनको मौका है कि हिन्दुस्तान को आज़ाद बानाने के लिये इकट्ठे होकर काम करे। उन्हें यह कहने को न रह जाय कि मौका नहीं मिला। कहा जाता है कि मैं जवाहर लाल को मानता हूँ। हां मैं मानता हूँ। मैं देखता हूँ, कि वह काम की बात करते हैं। अगर आप लोग इकट्ठे होकर काम नहीं करेंगे तो बहुत नुकसान होगा ! पैरालल गवर्नमेण्ट का प्रोग्राम फायदा नहीं देगा। यह फायदे की चीज़ नहीं है। पैरालल गवर्नमेण्ट के लिये हम तैयार नहीं है। जितना काम कर सकते हैं उतना ही उठाना चाहिये।

आपको सात लाख गावों में प्रचार करना है। गांव में कोई काम नहीं हुआ है ७ लाख गांव में ७ लाख कांग्रेस के मेम्बर भी नहीं है। हमारी देहातों में कांग्रेस का नाम भी लोग नहीं जानते ! इस हालत में परललगवर्नमेण्ट की जगह देहातों में काम करना चाहिये। तालीम पहुँचानी चाहिये। यह सब होजाय तो पैरालल गवर्नमेण्ट कर सकते हैं। लेकिन अभी मौका नहीं है।

भाइयो, जो कुछ अमेरडमेराट के बारे में कहना या कह दिया और यह जो मेरा प्रस्ताव है उसका भी पृथक्करण करके बतला दिया कि क्या रखना चाहिये। इस लिये मैं कहता हूँ कि सचमुच इस प्रस्ताव को आप चाहे तो फेंक दें। ऐसा न करें उसको एक एक टुकड़ा करके काटे। एक सुन्दर मनुष्य की नाक काटें या आँख काटें इससे अच्छा है इसे फैंक दें। नाक कान काटना ठीक नहीं (हास्य ध्वनि) ऐसा करना ग़लत होगा। ऐसा करने की कोशिश न करें। एक चीज़ रखा गया है वह पसन्द हो रखें पसन्द न हो न रखें"— इसके पश्चात् महात्मा जी ने अंगरेज़ी में भाषण दिया।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय :—"जब मैं आपकी राय इस रिज़ोल्यूशन पर और मुख़ालिफ़त के रिज़ोल्यूशन पर लूँगा—अलावा डेलीगेटों के सब बाहर भेज दिए जाएँगे।"

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पं० मोती लाल जी का भाषण।

महात्मा गांधी जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए श्री पण्डित मोती लाल नहरू जी ने कहा:—

"जनाबे सदर, भाइयो और बहिनों महात्मा जी ने जो रिज़ूल्यूशन आप के सामने पेश किया है मैं उसकी ताईद के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं तो यह समझता था कि मुझे आपके सामने कुछ कहने की ज़रूरत न होगी क्योंकि महात्मा जी के बोलने के बाद कोई बात फिर ऐसी नहीं रह जाती जो माकूल हो, और कहने के काबिल हो। चूँकि अभी महात्मा जी ने अपनी तक़रीर जवाब के वास्ते बाक़ी रक्खी है इस लिये

मेरे ऊपर यह लाज़िम आता है कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की मैं मानी आप को समझा दूँ। आप ने देखा होगा कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन पर जो तरमीमें हुई है वह छपी हुई आपके पास पहुँच चुकी है। अलावे इसके कुछ कलम की लिखी हुई जनाबे सदर के पास मौजूद हैं। यह मुमकिन है कि और भी साहबान कुछ तरमीमें दें। लेहाज़ा महात्मा जी ने डिवीज़न आफ लेबर किया है उस में से मैं रिज़ोल्यूशन का जो असली मतलब है वह आपको सुना दूंगा और जो तरमीमें पेश होंगी उनका जवाब महात्मा जी देंगे।

मगर कबल इसके कि मैं इसके लफ्ज़ों के मानी और मन्शा बयान करूं, मैं यह ज़रूरी समझता हूं कि आप पर इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की अहमीयत ज़ाहिर कर दूं। यह एक रिज़ोल्यूशन है जो इस कांग्रेस का खास रिज़ोल्यूशन कहा जायगा। जो सब में ज्यादा जरूरी और सब में ज्यादा देर तक असर रखने वाला है, वह यह है। अब आपको यह सोचना होगा कि यह काम कुछ बहुत आसान नहीं है, कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को जिस तरह से सबजेक्टस कमेटी ने जैसा रक्खा है वह पास करेंगे और फिर तरमीमें भी मंजूर करेंगे। मैं आपके सामने यह अर्ज़ कर रहा हूं कि जहां तक मेरी अक्ल, मेरा तजरुबा और मेरा ग़ौर और फिकर का ताल्लुक है, मैं निहायत अदब से आपके सामने यह अर्ज़ करूंगा कि अगर इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को जिस तरह सबजेक्टस कमेटी ने आपके सामने रक्खा है उसमें आप एक लफ्ज़ की भी कमी बेशी करेंगे तो आप वह फर्ज़ जो आपके ऊपर आपके मुल्क ने रक्खा है अदा करने में कासिद रह जायेंगे। वह क्यों ?

भाइयो, जो कुछ अमेण्डमेण्ट के बारे में कहना था कह दिया और यह जो मेरा प्रस्ताव है उसका भी पृथक्करण करके बतला दिया कि क्या रखना चाहिये। इस लिये मैं कहता हूँ कि सचमुच इस प्रस्ताव को आप चाहे तो फेंक दें। ऐसा न करे उसको एक एक टुकड़ा करके काटे। एक सुन्दर मनुष्य की नाक काटें या आँख काटें इससे अच्छा है इसे फेंक दें। नाक कान काटना ठीक नहीं (हास्य ध्वनि) ऐसा करना ग़लत होगा। ऐसा करने की कोशिश न करें। एक चीज़ रखा गया है वह पसन्द हो रखें पसन्द न हो न रखें"— इसके पश्चात् महात्मा जी ने अंगरेज़ी में भाषण दिया।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय :—"जब मैं आपकी राय इस रिज़ोल्यूशन पर और मुख़ालिफ़त के रिज़ोल्यूशन पर लूँगा—अलावा डेलीगेटों के सब बाहर भेज दिए जाएँगे।"

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पं० मोती लाल जी का भाषण।

महात्मा गांधी जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए श्री पण्डित मोती लाल नेहरू जी ने कहा:—

"जनाबे सदर, भाइयो और बहिनों महात्मा जी ने जो रिज़ूल्यूशन आप के सामने पेश किया है मैं उसकी ताईद के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं तो यह समझता था कि मुझे आपके सामने कुछ कहने की ज़रूरत न होगी क्योंकि महात्मा जी के बोलने के बाद कोई बात फिर ऐसी नहीं रह जाती जो माकूल हो, और कहने के काबिल हो। चूँकि अभी महात्मा जी ने अपनी तकरीर जवाब के वास्ते बाकी रक्खी है इस लिये

मेरे ऊपर यह लाज़िम आता है कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की मैं मानी आप को समझा दूँ। आप ने देखा होगा कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन पर जो तरमीमें हुई है वह छपी हुई आपके पास पहुँच चुकी है। अलावे इसके कुछ कलम की लिखी हुई जनाबे सदर के पास मौजूद हैं। यह मुमकिन है कि और भी साहबान कुछ तरमीमें दें। लेहाज़ा महात्मा जी ने डिवीज़न आफ लेबर किया है उस में से मैं रिज़ोल्यूशन का जो असली मतलब है वह आपको सुना दूंगा और जो तरमीमें पेश होंगी उनका जवाब महात्मा जी देंगे।

मगर कबल इसके कि मैं इसके लफ्ज़ों के मानी और मन्शा बयान करूं, मैं यह ज़रूरी समझता हूं कि आप पर इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की अहमीयत ज़ाहिर कर दूं। यह एक रिज़ोल्यूशन है जो इस कांग्रेस का खास रिज़ोल्यूशन कहा जायगा। जो सब में ज्यादा जरूरी और सब में ज्यादा देर तक असर रखने वाला है, वह यह है। अब आपको यह सोचना होगा कि यह काम कुछ बहुत आसान नहीं है, कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को जिस तरह से सबजेक्ट्स कमेटी ने जैसा रक्खा है वह पास करेंगे और फिर तरमीमें भी मंजूर करेंगे। मैं आपके सामने यह अर्ज़ कर रहा हूं कि जहां तक मेरी अक्ल, मेरा तजरुबा और मेरा ग़ौर और फिकर का ताल्लुक है, मैं निहायत अदब से आपके सामने यह अर्ज़ करूंगा कि अगर इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को जिस तरह सबजेक्ट्स कमेटी ने आपके सामने रक्खा है उसमें आप एक लफ्ज़ की भी कमी वेशी करेंगे तो आप वह फर्ज़ जो आपके ऊपर आपके मुल्क ने रक्खा है अदा करने में कासिद रह जायेंगे। वह क्यों ?

पहले तो यह समझ लेना चाहिये कि जो खासीयत अच्छी या बुरी किसी इन्सान की होती है, यानी इन्सान के अन्दर कुछ अपनी बातें हैं बाकी और बातें अक्ल से सोचता है और जो कुछ आइन्दा समझता है उस पर काम करता है। इस रिज़ोल्यूशन में इन सब बातों का ख्याल रखता गया है। और मैं अर्ज़ करूंगा कि आज तक जो कुछ हो चुका है उसके सिवाय इस रिज़ोल्यूशन के कोई बात बाकी नहीं रह जाती। अगर अपनी बातों का ध्यान है, अगर यह खयाल कर लिया है कि अपनी बातों की हंसी नहीं करनी है और मुकम्मल आज़ादी के लिये कोशिश करनी है तो यही रिज़ोल्यूशन हमें मंज़ूर करना है।

इस थोड़े से दीबाचे के बाद आपकी तवज्जह दिलाता हूं कि कबल इसके कि मैं इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को पढ़ूं, यह रिज़ोल्यूशन जो मैंने अर्ज़ किया है उस पर पूरा पूरा हामी होता है। इस रिज़ोल्यूशन के तीन हिस्से हैं—और वह ऐसे हैं कि पहला हिस्सा तो माज़ी यानी जो कुछ हो चुका है उसका हवाला देता है। दूसरा हिस्सा "हाल" के मुताल्लिक है। यानी अब क्या करना चाहते हैं। तीसरा हिस्सा यह है कि आइन्दा क्या करने वाले हैं। अपना मतलब मैं ज़ाहिर करता हूं। पहिले हिस्से में जो कुछ गुज़श्ता बातें हैं उनका हवाला दिया गया है। उसमें दो बातें हैं। एक तो यह कि वर्किंग कमेटी को आप जो देहली मेनीफेस्टो के बारे में और पार्टी लीडरों के दस्तखत के साथ उसने मेनीफेस्टो पर दस्तखत किया है और जो कुछ उसकी निस्बत कारवाई की उसकी बहाल करते हैं। अब देखिये कि इसके क्या मानी हैं। वर्किंग कमेटी ने क्या

किया यह लाज़मी है सोचना कब्ल इसके कि कहें कि यह अच्छा हुआ या बुरा। वर्किंग कमेटी को कलकत्ते की कांग्रेस में आपने जो काम सुपुर्द किया था वह उसके खिलाफ नहीं कह सकती थी। कलकत्ते के रिज़ोल्यूशन से आपने यह कहा था कि अगर ३१ दिसम्बर २९ तक यानी, आज के दिन जब कि मैं आपके सामने खड़ा हूं, आज के पहले हमें जो कांस्टीच्यूशन, उस किस्म का स्वराज्य जो नेहरू रिपोर्ट में लिखा गया है, गवर्नमेंएट की तर्फ से मिल जाय तो हम उसे मंजूर कर लेंगे। यह कलकत्ते का रिज़ोल्यूशन है।

३१ दिसम्बर से पहले, ३१ अक्तूबर को वाइसराय साहब ने एक एलान ज़ाहिर किया। उस में हवाला दिया कि रौंडटेबल कान्फ्रेंस होगी उस में डुमीनियन स्टेटस, जो नेहरू रिपोर्ट में दर्ज है, उस के मुताल्लिक बात चीत होगी। वर्किंग कमेटी ने मय और पार्टी लीडरों के ४ शर्तें लगाईं। एक तो यह कि रौंड टेबल कान्फ्रेंस में उसी हालत में जायेंगे जब पूरे डुमिनियन स्टेटस के बिना पर बात चीत की जायगी। दूसरी बात यह कि जितने पुलिटिकल कैदी हैं वह सब के सब फौरन छोड़ दिये जायें। तीसरी बात यह कि जो रौंड टेबल कान्फ्रेंस होगी उस में कसरत राय कांग्रेस की होगी। क्योंकि कांग्रेस तमाम पार्टियों के मुकाबले में आला तरीन समझी जाती है। चौथे यह था कि गो डुमिनियन स्टेटस अभी नहीं है, और डुमिनियन स्टेटस के बुनियाद पर बात चीत करने के लिये जाने वाले हैं, कि गवर्नमेंन्ट यह दिखलावे कि उसका दिल साफ है और आज से ही वह इस तरह का अमल दरामद करे जिस से साबत हो कि डुमिनियन स्टेटस कायम होने वाला है। यानी

तशद्दुद वगैरा बन्द कर दिया जाय। जो काम है वह सब हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की राय से किया जाये। जहां तक मौजूदा कानून में गुंजायश है। अब यह याद रक्खें कि मौजूदा कानून में भी यह बात पाई जाती है कि इस बात की मुमानियत नहीं है कि जो असेम्बली की कसरत राय से रिजोल्यूशन पास होता है उस पर अमल न किया जाय, बल्कि यह अख्तियार दिया गया है कि गवर्नर न चाहे तो अमल न करे। तो वर्किंग कमेटी ने यह कहा कि जितनी राय हमारी तरफ से दी जाती हैं उस पर अमल करें। और इस तरह हकूमत चले कि मालूम हो कि डुमिनियन स्टेटस कायम हो गया। इस पर यह हुआ कि २३ दिसम्बर को इस मुआमले पर बात चीत करने के लिये महात्मा गांधी, जिन्हा साहब सर तेजबहादर और मैं वाइसराय से मिले। वहां सिर्फ पहली बात पर ही मुआमला अटक गया। और वह यह कि आया पूरी मुकम्मल डुमिनियन स्टेटस की बुनियाद पर बात चीत होगी या नहीं। इसी पर मुआमला टूट गया। बात चीत खतम हुई। वाइसराय साहब ने कहा कि जो कुछ छप चुका है उस से ज्यादा वादा नहीं कर सकते। वहां कोई खास वादा ले कर दावत नहीं दे सकते। हमारा कहना यह था कि लेबर गवर्नमेण्ट यह इकरार करे कि बात चीत पूरे डुमिनियन स्टेटस पर होगी। यह इत्तमिनान वायसराय साहेब नहीं दिला सके। हम लोगों ने कहा कि फिर हम और कुछ नहीं चाहते। इसलिये बात चीत खतम हुई इस लिये पहला हिस्सा रिज़ोल्यूशन का यह दरख्वास्त करता है कि जो वर्किंग कमेटी ने किया और हम लोगों ने किया उसकी ताईद आप करें। इसके साथ यह भी कहा गया

है कि जो वायसराय साहब ने कोशिश विलायत जाकर इस समझोते के लिये की उसकी क़दर कीजिये।

जहां तक वर्किंग केमटी का ताल्लुक है मैं कहता हूं कि ३१ दिसम्बर से पहिले कोई बात चाहे उस के दिल में कुछ भी हो वह करे। मैं निहायत अदब से कहूंगा कि कलकत्ता कांग्रेस के रिज़ोल्यूशन के मुताबिक उसे अख्तियार दिया गया था और उस अख्तियार से जो ४ शर्तें उस ने लगाई थीं उन के सिवा वह कुछ और नहीं कर सकती थी ? इस लिये मैं आप से कहता हूं कि अब आप अपनी कारकुन कमेटी के इस काम की कदर कीजिये। वायसराय साहेब की कोशिश की भी कदर कीजिये।

इस से पहले जो रिज़ोल्यूशन हो चुका है, जिस पर बहुत बड़े ज़ोर शोर से बहस हुई, ऐसा उस में ख्याल जाहिर किया गया, और मैं देखता हूं, तरमीम भी हो गई है, कि वायसराय की तारीफ़ के अलफाज़ छोड़ दिये जांय। मैं पहले अर्ज़ कर चुका हूं कि कोई कौम या नेशन सरसब्ज़ नहीं हो सकती जब तक इस असलियत से भरी नहीं है जो होनी चाहिये। सब से बड़ी असलियत इन्सानियत है। जिस कौम में इन्सानियत नहीं वह कौम नहीं। अब मैं आप से कहता हूं कि वायसराय ने क्या किया और क्या नहीं किया। उन से दुश्मनी न मेरी है न आप की। जो काम उन्हों ने किया वह उस एलान से साबत है जो ३१ अक्तूबर को उन्हों ने किया। मैं कहता हूं वायसराय भी दिल रखता है वह भी आदमी है। क्या मानी हैं कि एक वायसराय कुछ भी करे उसकी कदर न की जाय। कहा यह जाता है

कि वायसराय ने हमारे लिये क्या किया ? जो कुछ किया अँग्रेज़ी सलतनत को मज़बूत बनाने के लिये किया। मुझे इससे इत्तिफ़ाक़ है। ज़रूर ऐसा करने के लिया किया। लेकिन दो फ़िरके जब जंग में लगे हुए हों तो जब एक फिरका दूसरे फ़िरके से बात करता है तो अपने फ़ायदे को सोचता है। इसमें कोई कलाम नहीं कि बृटिश गवर्नमेण्ट का डुमिनियन स्टेटस देने से जितना फ़ायदा है उतना हमारा नहीं। यह मैं तसलीम करता हूँ। यह उनके लिये सवाल है कि हिन्दुस्तान डोमिनियन स्टेटस कायम करें या हिन्दुस्तान को अपने हाथ से बाहर फेंक दें। यह दूसरी चीज़ है तो उन्होंने अपनी पेशबंदी की यह सच है। यह मालूम है कि वह कांग्रेस के लिये नहीं गये थे। उस समय जो कसरत राय थी, कांग्रेस के लिये थी, कांग्रेस के लिये कोशिश हुई—इसलिये हम उस कोशिश की कदर करते हैं।

लेकिन अब जो बात हुई, जो कुछ कहा गया, उसबात में देखना यह है कि राउण्ड टेबल कान्फ्रेंस में जाने से कुछ फायदा है या नहीं। तो असल बात यह है कि राउण्ड टेबल कान्फ्रेंस में जाना गैर ज़रूरी है यह माज़ी की बात हुई। हाल की बात यह है कि अब से हम कांग्रेस के क्रीड में स्वराज्य लफ्ज़ के मानी, जिस का मतलब महात्मा गांधी जी लगाते थे, कि बृटिश इम्पायर के भीतर अगर मुमकिन हो, और अगर नहीं मुमकिन हो तो बाहर, अब मुकम्मल आज़ादी हो गया। इस का मतलब कतई बृटिश इम्पायर से ताल्लुक नहीं होगा। आप यह ख्याल रक्खें, और गवर्न्मेंट इस बात को खूब जानती है कि कोई कौम जो अपनी आज़ादी के लिये कोशिश किया चाहती है वह सिवा इसके

मुकम्मल आज़ादी के लिये कोशिश करे। सिवा इसके कि वह उस बाहरी हकूमत से जो, उस के ऊपर है, निकल जाने की कोशिश करे और क्या कर सकती है ? डोमिनियन स्टेटस और ऐसी ही और बात एक ऐसी चीज़ है जिसे सुलह की बात कहते हैं। सुलह की बात खत्म हो गई ? जो शरतें थीं वह मानी नहीं गईं। अब सिवा इसके कि मुकम्मल आज़ादी का एलान करें और कोई बात नहीं कर सकते। कलकत्ते का रिज़ोल्यूशन न होता तो इस की ज़रूरत न होती—मगर कलकत्ते का रिज़ोल्यूशन होने से यह हमारा फर्ज़ है कि हम ऐसा करें।

पहला कदम इस आज़ादी के लिये यह उठाया जाय कि असेम्बली और कौंसिलों का बायकाट किया जाय। और एक दम कांग्रेस के नुमाइन्दे जो, कौंसिलों और असम्बली में है, इस्तीफ़े दे कर उन से अलग हो जांय और आइन्दा चुनाव में हिस्सा न लें। हज़रात ! आप के सामने मैं एक शख्स हूं कि जिस ने देशबन्धु चितरञ्जन दास के साथ एक बड़ी भारी कांग्रेस के साथ जंग की थी। इसी कांउसिल के बारे में। और आख़िर में यह हुआ कि कांग्रेस ने भी उन लोगों को इजाज़त दी जो कौंसिलों में जाना चाहते थे। उन लोगों ने कौंसिलों में जाकर जो काम वह कर सकते थे किया। मैं यहां यह नहीं कह रहा हूं कि उन्होंने बहुत कुछ किया—उस काम से हमारी आज़ादी का कदम एक इञ्च भी नहीं बढ़ा। सिर्फ यह नतीजा हुआ कि हमारा ध्यान बट गया। छोटी मोटी बहुत सी बातें हासिल कीं। सिर्फ यह हासिल किया कि अगर हम हिसाब लगाते हैं तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान में हज़ार दो हज़ार ऐसे पब्लिक मैन है जो बाहर रहते तो पब्लिक का काम करते मगर १७००,१८००

आदमी तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में गवर्नमेन्ट ने किसी न किसी कमेटी या कमिश्न में लगा रक्खा है जो इस सल्तनत को कायम रखने का काम कर रहे हैं। इन में सभी किस्म के लोग हैं। इस वक्त बेइन्तहा कमेटी और कमीशनों का भरमार है। इन में जाने से आज़ादी का वह रास्ता जिस पर चलना चाहते हैं दूर हो जाता है। बहुत से लोग तो इन में जाकर ही, जिस आज़ादी के लिये वह कोशिश कर रहे थे, उस को पाया हुआ मानने लग जाते हैं। जहां तक डोमिनियन स्टेटस का ताल्लुक है अब भी हमारे दोस्त कह सकते हैं कि कौंसिलों में बहुत काम हो सकता है। लेकिन जब आप ने आज़ादी का झंडा उठा लिया और कह दिया कि आज़ादी की कोशिश करेंगे तो पहला फैसला यही है कि एक दूसरे के साथ निस्बत नहीं रखते।

आप के सामने आने वाली तरमीमें तीन तरह की हैं। एक गर्म है एक नरम, एक मोतादिल है—। तो बाज़ कहते हैं कि कौंसिलों के छोड़ने से क्या फायदा? १९२१, २२ में ट्रिपल बायकाट या—स्कूल, कालेज, कोर्ट यह सब भी कौंसिलों के बायकाट के साथ शामिल कर लिये जांय! वर्किंग कमेटी ने जब इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को रक्खा तो इस बारे में सबजेक्टस कमेटी में बहुत बड़ी बहस हुई। तो या तो अब तक जो कुछ हुआ है उस तजरबे से फायदा उठाया जाय या यह समझा जाय कि अब तक कुछ हुआ ही नहीं। साथ २ हम यह देखते हैं कि जब तक अच्छी तरह इस्तक़लाल के साथ आज़ादी के लिये कदम न बढ़ाया जायगा, उस वक्त तक अदालत, स्कूल और कालेज का बायकाट कामयाब नहीं होगा।

कौंसिलों के बारे में अब कोई पसो पेश नहीं है। कौंसिलें किसी के लिये रोज़ी का ज़रिया नहीं है। वकालत लोगों के लिये एक ज़रिया है। कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन का एक हिस्सा सिवल नाफरमानी भी है। उस के लिये यह तरकीब निकाली गई है कि कौंसिलों का बायकाट किया जाय। गुस्से में आकर कौंसिल का सवाल छेड़ दिया गया है। इस से हरगिज़ कामयाबी न होगी।

हज़रात आप ख्याल करते हैं कि मैंने एक बार वकालत छोड़ दी थी और फिर थोड़े दिन बाद शुरू कर दी— थोड़े दिनों में मोटी २ रकम पा जाने से मुझ को वकालत का चस्का लग गया है। मगर मैं आप को इतमिनान दिलाता हूं कि अगर आप वकालत छोड़ने का रिज़ोल्यूशन कर देंगे तो मेरा नुकसान न होगा—मैंने तो जो मुकद्दमे लेने थे ले लिये हैं। उनके बाद और लेने का इरादा नहीं है। लेकिन इन गरीबों का नुक्सान होगा जिन के पास इतनी आमदनी नहीं है।

अब रहे स्कूल और कालेज। अगर आप स्कूलों और कालेजों को न छोड़ें तो ही अच्छा है। अगर आप का जंग जारी होता है तो लड़के खुद आयेंगे। उन्हें छेड़ना ठीक नहीं। अगर आप को कामयाबी की उम्मीद है कि बिना जंग के छिड़े लड़के आजायेंगे तो ज़रूर कीजिये, मगर मुझे उम्मीद नहीं कि आप को इस में कामयाबी होगी। इस का तजरबा हम को हो चुका है कि यह सवाल नहीं छेड़ना चाहिये। मैं आप भाइयों से कहूंगा कि ज़बरदस्ती आप बच्चों को स्कूलों से अलग न करें।

इस रिज़ोल्यूशन का एक हिस्सा यह कि आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के सुपुर्द किया गया है कि कोई तरीका वह सिविल डिसोबिडियन्स का ऐसा निकाले कि जिस की तामील पूरे तौर पर की जाय। टैक्स बंद करने की तरकीब निकाली जाय और आयन्दा के लिये काम जारी रक्खा जाय। बीच में छोड़ न दिया जाये। यह रिज़ोल्यूशन सन् ३० के लिये हैं, न कि सन् ३५ के लिये, (हास्यध्वनि) अगर आप की मदद होगी तो इसी साल के अन्दर यह सब होगा। अगर इस साल के अन्दर हुआ तो मेरे दिल को शांति होगी। अगर आप को इस साल के अन्दर ही आज़ादी न मिल गई तो गज़ दो गज़ का ही फासला रह जायगा। और मैं आप से यह अर्ज़ करूंगा कि यह रिज़ोल्यूशन बड़े ग़ौर के बाद एक ईंट पर दूसरी ईंट रख कर बनाया गया है। इस में से एक ईंट निकाल दी तो दूसरी भी गिर जायगी। अगर आप ने इस में से एक लफ्ज़ भी निकाल दिया तो आप इस अहम रिज़ोल्यूशन को नुक्सान पहुंचायँगे।

आप के सामने एक ऐसी तरमीम है कि जिस में पैरेलल गवर्न्मेन्ट बनाई गई है। मैं आप से यह अर्ज़ करूंगा कि अगर आप को यह मंजूर हो कि आप की नेशन दुनिया की और नेशन के बराबर हो और उन के बीच में आप अपना सर ऊंचा उठायें, अगर आप को यह मंज़ूर है कि आप आज़ाद हों, सिर्फ बात की आज़ादी नहीं तो मुझे इतना कहने की इजाज़त दें कि सिवा इस के कि आप इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की मौजूदा सूरत में पास करें और कुछ आप नहीं कर सकते। (जय जय घोष)

श्री पण्डित मदनमोहन मालवीय जी का भाषण

पूर्ण स्वाधीनता के प्रस्ताव पर अपना संशोधन रखते हुए श्री पण्डित मोतीलाल जी के पश्चात् श्री पण्डित मदन मोहन मालवीय जी ने कहा :—

"सभापति महाशय, भाइयो और बहिनो, जो तरमीम आपके सामने पेश करने के लिये मैं आया हूँ वह अंग्रेजी में छपी हुई है—मैं अंग्रेज़ी में उसे पढ़ देता हूँ और फिर उसका अनुवाद सुना दूंगा। वह तरमीम यह है।

जो प्रस्ताव आज महात्मा गांधी ने रक्खा है उसकी जगह यह रक्खा जाय। कांग्रेस के सभापति को यह अख्तियार दिया जाय और उनसे प्रार्थना की जाय कि मार्च या अप्रैल में देहली में वह सर्वदल सम्मेलन करें, और यह विचार किया जाय कि राउण्डटेबल कान्फ्रेन्स की सब शर्तों पर विचार करके यह निर्णय किया जाय कि क्या करना चाहिये। और जब तक कान्फ्रेन्स न हो जाय कांग्रेस के क्रीड के अन्दर स्वराज्य का जो आदर्श है वह हासिल करना वैसा ही रहे जैसा अब है।

इस तरमीम को पेश करने का कारण मैं आपको संक्षेप में बतला देना चाहता हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि कांग्रेस बहुत ज़माने से कोशिश करती आई है कि इस देश को स्वाधीनता मिले। १९१८ में कांग्रेस ने यह बात कही थी कि अपने देश का इन्तिज़ाम करने की ताकत हम में है। १९१९ में अमृतसर की कांग्रेस ने यह बात कही थी। मेरा पूरा विश्वास है, और मैं समझता हूँ कि आप सब भाइयों का विश्वास है कि इस देश के रहने वाले हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख पारसी और

ईसाई सब अपने मुल्क का इन्तिज़ाम करने की ल्याकत रखते हैं। जो यह कहा जाता है कि यह लायक नहीं है यह ग़लत है। बेजा तोहमत लगाई जाती है। तो हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश का राज १६ आने हमारे हाथ में आये। और हम दुनिया को दिखला दें कि जैसी हुकूमत आज यहां चल रही है उससे बदरजहा अच्छी हम कर रहे हैं। लेकिन इसके लिये जो तरीका कांग्रेस ने अख़्तियार किया है वह क्या है ?

१६२४ में स्वराज्य पार्टी के प्रतिनिधि काउन्सिलों में और असेम्बली में गये और जिनके नेता भाई पण्डित मोती लाल नेहरु थे। सब ने मिल कर प्रस्ताव पेश किया कि गवर्नमेण्ट एक राउण्डटेबल कान्फ्रेन्स बुलाये और वह इसलिये कि उसमें डोमीनियन स्टेटस देंगे। १६२५ में भी इसका समर्थन किया गया। गवर्नमेन्ट ने उसवक्त सुना नहीं। मुडमिन कमेटी मुकर्रर की। इसके बाद साइमन कमीशन बैठा। हम चाहते थे उसमें हिन्दुस्तानी भी हों मगर हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं रक्खे गये। हम नाराज़ हुए। देश की सब पोलिटिकल पार्टीज़ नाराज़ हुईं! सब ने इस कमीशन का बायकाट किया! इस बायकाट पर असेम्बली ने पूरे तौर से अपनी मुहर लगादी! उस समय राउण्डटेबल कान्फ्रेन्स की बात तो वर्त्तमान गवर्नमेण्ट ने नहीं की मगर बायकाट साइमन कमीशन का बड़ा ज़बर्दस्त हुआ। सारा देश एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक इसमें शामिल हुआ—सब पार्टियें एक साथ मिल कर खड़ी हुईं। नतीजा यह हुआ कि साइमन कमीशन की दुर्गति हुई।

अब उस के बाद वाइसराय ने देखा कि यह तो मामला ठीक नहीं हुआ। हम लोगों ने बार बार यह कहा कि राउण्डटेबुल कान्फ्रेन्स होनी

चाहिये—वर्त्तमान मिनिस्टरी हमको बुलाये तो हमारे प्रतिनिधि जाने को तैयार होंगे। वाइसराय ने इस बात को मंज़ूर करके इंग्लैण्ड जाकर कोशिश की। सेक्रेटरी आफ़स्टेटस ने, हिज़मैजेस्टीज़ गवर्नमेण्ट ने मंज़ूर किया। अब आप ग़ौर करें कि क्या बात हुई? साइमन कमीशन और बटलर कमेटी मुक़र्रर की गई थी। कोशिश थी कि रूलिंग प्रिन्सेज़ को एक तरफ़ और गवर्नमेण्ट आफ़ इण्डिया को एक तरफ़ किया जाय—लड़ाने की कोशिश की गई। जो मुख़ालफ़त हुई उससे रूलिंग प्रिन्सेज़ ने भी इस चाल को ठीक नहीं माना इस से दूसरी सूरत पैदा हुई। बटलर कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आ गई। साइमन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट नहीं आई। वाइसराय ने कोशिश की हिन्दुस्तान के लायक़ फायक़ प्रतिनिधियों को बुला कर कान्फ्रेन्स की जाय। उस में रूलिंग प्रिन्सज़ भी बुलाये जांय। जब बृटिश गवर्नमेण्ट ने यह ख्याल किया कि रूलिंग प्रिन्सेज़ और हिन्दुस्तानियों को मिल कर निर्णय करना चाहिये तो रूलिंग प्रिन्सेज़ ने भी इसको मंजूर किया। बटलर कमेटी ने यह ज़ाहिर किया कि प्रिन्सेज़ ख़िलाफ़ हैं मगर यह लोग डोमिनियन स्टेटस क़ायम होने के माफ़िक हुए। बृटिश गवर्नमेण्ट ने हमारी बात को वाइसराय के ज़रिये कितना सुना आप देखिये।

कलकत्ते में रिज़ोल्यूशन हुआ कि ३१ दिसम्बर १९२९ तक हमारी बात नहीं सुनेंगे तो हम आज़ादी का एलान कर देंगे। इस से पहले क्या क्या हुआ? गवर्नमेण्ट ने बटलर कमेटी की रिपोर्ट को ताक पर रख दिया। साइमन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को ताक पर रख दिया। और एलान किया कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस हमारा ध्येय होगा। एलान

किया कि साइमन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आजायगी तो एक कान्फ्रेंस बुलायेंगे। साइमन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट पर ग़ौर करने के लिये नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के माननीय लायक़ और फायक़ लोग जाकर विचार करके जो निर्णय करेंगे गवर्नमेण्ट उसको पूरा करने की कोशिश करेगी। वाइसराय के एलान के बाद हमारे भाई महात्मागांधी, पंडित मोती लाल नेहरू, सरतेजबहादुर सप्रू और दूसरे नेता दिल्ली में इकट्ठे हुए। उन्होंने यह रिज़ोल्यूशन किया कि अगर गवर्नमेण्ट हमारी ४, ५ शर्तें मान ले तो हम कान्फ्रेन्स में जांयगे। देहली में यह फैसला किया था कि हमारी शर्तें गवर्नमेण्ट मंजूर करेगी तो हम शामिल होंगे।

यह शर्तें तो भाई मोती लाल ने सुना दीं—पहली यह थी कि यह मान लेते हैं कि जो बहस होगी वह डोमीनियन स्टेटस पर होगी। यह मान कर गवर्नमेण्ट के नवेद को मंजूर करते हैं। यह भी तय हुआ कि गवर्नमेण्ट पोलिटिकल प्रिज़नर्स को छोड़ देगी। तीसरी बात यह कि जो कान्फ्रेन्स होगी उस में कांग्रेस के प्रतिनिधि ज्यादा होंगे। यह भी कहा गया कि हकूमत का तर्ज़ अभी से ऐसा हो जाय कि एक नई फिज़ा पैदा हो जाय पोलीटीकल प्रिज़नर्स छोड़ दिये जांय और आगे को सख्ती न हो। ऐसा गवर्नमेण्ट करे तो कान्फ्रेन्स में जांयगे।

अब आप को मालूम है कि इस वक्त तक इन मुआमलात में मुल्क में जो कामयाबी हुई वह इसलिये कि सब पार्टीज़ के लोग मिले हुए थे। लिबरल और मुसलिम लीग सब साथ थे। नहरू रिपोर्ट को कामयाबी हुई क्यों? आलपार्टीज़ कान्फ्रेन्स ने उस को मंजूर किया था। अब आपने एक, दो महीने पहिले देहली में यह मंजूर किया था कि

कान्फ्रेन्स में जायेंगे। सब पार्टीज़ के रिप्रेज़न्टेटिवज़ को बुलाया—उनकी सलाह से मेनीफेस्टो बनाया। आज आप उन्हें बुलाते नहीं—पूछते नहीं! इतना बड़ा फैसला आप किये लेते हैं जो एक, दो माह पहले जो फैसला किया था उसके बार्ख़िलाफ है। आज आप कहते हैं कि वाइसराय से जो बातें हुईं उनसे मालूम होता है कि कान्फ्रेन्स में जाने से कुछ फ़ायदा न होगा। मैं कहता हूं कि आप यह ग़लती कर रहे हैं। आप को अपने मुल्क के सब पार्टीज़ के भाइयों के साथ सलाह करके यह काम करना चाहिये। यह काम अगर आप सलाह करके करेंगे तो कामयाबी होगी। आप कहते हैं कि वाइसराय ने जो जवाब दिया उससे कोइ इतमिनान नहीं होता कि कान्फ्रेन्स में जाने से भलाई होगी। मैं बड़े अदब से कहता हूं कि यह राय ग़लत है।

आप वाइसराय की हालत पर गौर कीजिये। हाथ हमारा पत्थर के नीचे दब गया है। क्या हक है अंग्रेज़ों को हमारे मुल्क में आकर हुकूमत करने का! अंग्रेज़ों ने जुल्म किया कि हिन्दुस्तान में अपना राज कायम किया। उन को हक नहीं कि एक मिनट के लिये भी हमारे हाकिम रहें। हम चाहते हैं कि हमें आज़ादी मिले। हिन्दु मुसलमान ईसाई अपने मुल्क का इन्तिज़ाम करें। लेकिन हमारा हाथ पत्थर के नीचे दब गया! एक साथ खींचने से नुकसान का डर है। अगर आप जंग शुरु कर दें तो भी देखना होगा कि कौन सा मौका जंग बन्द करने का है। आज डोमीनियन स्टेटस जो नहरू रिपोर्ट में मांगी गयी थी, इतने दिन अपने नेहरू रिपोर्ट की ताईद की—आज

आप कहते हैं कि वह नेहरू रिपोर्ट ताक पर रक्खं दी गयी । मैं कहता हूं इस क़दर जल्दी में इतना बड़ा फैसला नहीं होना चाहिये । आप को डोमीनियन स्टेटस नापसन्द होगया है । मैं कहता हूं डोमीनियन स्टेटस जैसा १९२९ में था, उसके मानी हैं मुकम्मल अज़ादी जहां तक हिन्दुस्तान के साथ उसका सम्बन्ध है । यह मतलब उसका महात्मा गांधी और पडित मोती लाल लगते हैं जब उसकी ताईद करते हैं । उसमें हमारे साथ सब हैं—रूलिंग प्रिन्सेज़ हमारे साथ हैं । मगर हम इसे छोड़ते हैं । सिर्फ़ इतने पर कि वाइसराय हमें इतमिनान नहीं दिलाते कि कान्फ्रेन्स में यह मान कर बात चलेगी कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस हम को मिलेगा । आप देखते हैं कि वाइसराय को कहां तक इसका इख्तियार हैं कि वह कहें कि यह मान कर बहस चलेगी । मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि बहस दूसरी बिना पर हो । मैं डोमीनियन स्टेटस से एक चावल भर कम लेने को तैयार नहीं हूं । मैं चाहता हूं कि सारा आख्तियार हमारे हाथ में आजाय । सिवल सर्विस मिलिटरी सब का आख्तियार सब हमारे हाथ में आजायगा तो हमें यह भी आख्तियार होगा कि हम ताल्लुक़ भी उनके साथ मजबूरी हो तो तोड़ दें । लेकिन जब डोमीनियन स्टेटस मिल जाय तब, जितना बल बोता उनका है उतना ही हमारा होजयागा । हमारे लिये डोमीनियन स्टेटस बड़ी अहम चीज़ है । तमाम पार्टीज़ और रूलिंग प्रिन्सेज़ को इकट्ठा करने के लिये ज़रूरी चीज़ है । यही बात नेहरू रिपोर्ट में थी । आज आप कहते हैं । कि कान्फ्रेन्स में मत जाओ —तजवीज़ पेश करते हैं कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस को छोड़ते हैं । मैं यह कहता हूं कि यह राय

ग़लत है। ऐसी सूरत हो सकती हैं कि आप को कान्फ्रेन्स में जाने के लिये मौका आजाय। गुलामी को दूर कर सकने का अवसर हाथ आसकता है। आप यह सोचलें कि अंग्रेज़ों से हम अपना राज लेलेंगे—नहीं देंगे तो सब की अवाज़ होगी कि चलो लेलो। हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसा वक्त आये। हम को डोमीनियन स्टेटस जैसे राज्य की बड़ी ज़रूरत है। दूसरी ज़रूरी चीज़ इतनी बड़ी नहीं हो सकती। जिस तरह हो मुल्क की गुलामी को दूर करना चाहते है। भाइयो और बहिनो, मगर यह बात यकीनन नहीं हो जाती। इस तरह यह तजवीज़ कान्फ्रेन्स के बायकाट के लिये कब्ल अज़ वक्त है।

मेरी तरमीम यह नहीं है कि चाहे जो हो कान्फ्रेन्स में जाना ही चाहिये। मैं यह कहता हूं कि आज फ़ैसला मत करो। जैसे आप ने वाइसराय के एलान पर देश के सब नेताओं से मशविरा किया था उसी तरह फिर सलाह मशविरा करें। सब लोग कोशिश करके देखें कि जो आप की शर्त है गवर्नमेण्ट पूरी करती है या नहीं। देहली में मार्च या अप्रैल में आलपार्टीज़ कान्फ्रेंस करके फैसला करें कि क्या करना चाहिये। आज आप अपना फैसला कर लेते हैं—आप और पार्टीज़ को अलग कर देते हैं। मुसलिम लीग की राय, लिबरल फडेरेशन की राय देखिये, फीरोज़शाह मेटना ने कहा है माडर्टेस इसलिये नहीं जायंगे कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस टुकड़े टुकड़े करके हिन्दुस्तान को मिलेगा—वह इसलिये जायंगे कि कुल डोमीनियन स्टेटस मांगे। हिन्दु महा सभा भी डोमीनियन स्टेटस चाहती है। लेकिन अगर आपने यह फैसला कर लिया और मुसलिम लीग, हिन्दूमहा सभा

और लिबरल फेडरेशन ने और फैसला किया तो हमारा इत्तिफाक़ टूट जायगा और हम अपनी मन्शा को पूरा नहीं कर सकेंगे। इस लिये मेरी अर्ज़ है कि आप इस वक्त महात्मा जी के रिज़ोल्यूशन को मुल्तवी रखें !

एक और बात है जिस की तरफ़ तवज्जह दिलाता हूं। आप कहते हैं कि इन्डिपेन्डेन्स कांग्रेस का मकसद है। तो आप क्या करेंगे ? आप कहते हैं कि काउन्सिलों और असम्ली में जो कांग्रेस के रिप्रेज़ेन्टेटिव हैं वह उसे छोड़ कर चले आयें। मेरे भाइयो, कुछ लोगों को बाहर काम करने दो—कुछ लोगों को काउन्सिलों में ! १६२० में महात्मा गांधी ने काउन्सिलों, स्कूलों और कालेजों का बायकाट किया था। मैं कहता हूं आप न जायंगे काउन्सिलों में दूसर जायंगे ! मैं ३ वर्ष असम्ली में नहीं गया। कितने गंदे इन्सान गये ! ४० करोड़ का टैकस बड़ा ३ बर्ष के तजरबे के बाद स्वर्गवासी देशबन्धु चितरंजन दास ने सोचा कि काउन्सिलों में जाना ज़रूरी है। काउन्सिलों का काम ज़रूरी है। (बहुत शोर होने लगा)— मेरे भाइयो, मैं आप से कहरहा हूं अगर आप को ठीक मालूम हो तो मंजूर करें नहीं तो मत करें। मैं कहता हूं कि अगर असम्बली में बहस न हुई तो लार्ड इरविन ने जो किया है वेज उडवेन ने जो काम किया है वह न होता ! साइमन कमीशन पर बहस न होती तो यह फिज़ा न होती इसलिये आप प्रस्ताव को पास न करें—मेरी तरमीम को पास करें"

श्री अफ़ज़लहक़ का भाषण

श्रीयुत अफ़ज़लहक़ ने कहा—"मोहतरिम सदर, भाइयो और

बहिनों, मेरी तरमीम यह है कि अभी अप्रैल तक या उस वक्त तक जब तक कि वर्किंग कमेटी कोई तारीख़ मुकर्रर करे, इस रिज़ोल्यूशन पर ग़ौर करना मुलतवी करदिया जाय। मुझ से पहले पंडित मोती लालजी की तक़रीर सुन कर आप हैरान हुए होंगे कि अब से (छः) ६ वर्ष पहले यही हमारे मुइतरिम लीडर थे जिन्होंने कांउन्सिल में जाने के लिये इसरार किया था और उन्हीं के कहने पर हम लोग काउन्सिल में गये थे। आज मैं हैरान हूं कि ६ वर्ष के बाद हमारे लीडर यह कहते हैं कि हम से भूल होगई है। मुझे एक शेर याद आता है—(मुझे क़तल करके वह बोला क़ातिल........) किसी दाना ने कहा है कि मुहब्बत के लिये गुस्से को थूक देना चाहिये। एक आदमी ने २३ दिन तक गुस्से को थूका—फिर उस दाना ने कहा कि चालीस दिन तक गुस्से को थूक देना चाहिये। गुस्से में जो जो बात कही जाती हैं ग़लत होती हैं। अब आप इस ग़लती को देख लेंगे। कि हमारा मक़सद डोमीनियन स्टेटस था और आज हम कहना चाहते हैं बायकाट करके मुकम्मल आज़ादी हासिल करना। लेकिन फिर भी जैसे अब तक डोमीनियन स्टेटस हासिल न हो सका यह भी हासिल न होगा। आज जब बहुत ज्यादा बातें हो चुकी हैं हम आप के सामने यह रखना चाहते हैं। महात्मा जी यकीन दिलाते हैं लेकिन यक़ीन नहीं आता कि मुकम्मल आज़ादी अदमेतशद्दुद से कैसे होगी। अदमेतशद्दुद के रास्ते से मुकम्मल आज़ादी का मिलना ऐसा है जैसे हाथी को चींटी, के बिल में घुसेड़ना। (हास्य ध्वनि) महात्मा जी कहते हैं कि अदमेतशद्दुद से आज़ादी पैदा होगी। दो तीन सौ आदमी जो काउन्सिलों में हैं बाहर

निकल आयें तो हिन्दुस्तान को मुकम्मल आज़ादी मिल जायगी। मैं तमाम नोचेन्जरों से कहता हूं कि उन २-३ सौ आदमियों के अलावा तुम ने चरखा काता तो उस से क्या किया? मैं अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं कि सिवा नोचेंजर बनने के आप ने क्या किया?

मैं अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं, जैसा मैंने कहा था, कि जब हम लोग यह बात कहते हैं कि राउन्ड टेबल कान्फ्रेन्स को मंजूर करें या न करें तो हमारा मतलब यह होता है कि जो गुफ्तगू हमारे लीडरों की वाइसराय के साथ हुई है उस का पता तो हमें हो—तब हम फैसला करें। अखबारों में जो लिखा गया है ठीक है—बयान शाया हुआ है—मगर इस से तसकीन नहीं होती न उस पर फ़ैसला हो सकता है। मैं महात्मा जी से कहता हूं कि जो बातें वाइसराय से आप की हुई, वह सीक्रेट है माना, मगर आप ने १९....में जब वाइसराय से मुलाक़ात की थी—उस वक्त भी प्राइवेट मुलाकात थी—मगर महात्मा जी की तरफ़ से और वाइसराय की तरफ़ से मुफ़स्सल बयान शाया हुआ था। मैं कहता हूं कि कब्ल इस को कि आप इस मसले पर ग़ौर करें, पहले यह ज़ाहिर हो जाना चाहिये कि उस गुफ्तगू का क्या मतलब है। मैं समझता हूं कि मुल्क और महात्मा जी ज़ोर डालें तो वाइसराय राज़ी होंगे कि ब्यान शाया हो जाय। जब यह ब्यान आजाय तो फिर इस अमर पर ग़ौर हो।

भाइयो और बहिनों, याद रखिये कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस जो है वह तो आपस की काम्प्रोमाइज़ है। अगर आप काम्प्रोमाइज़ नहीं करना चाहते तो आप तरद्दुद के जंग से क्यों घबराते हैं। आज के रवैये से

मालूम होता है कि आप तशद्‌दुद को मानते हैं। महात्मा जी कहते हैं कि मुहब्बत के ज़रिये से मुहब्बत के जज़बात पैदा किये जा सकते हैं तशद्‌दुद से कुछ हासिल नहीं हो सकता। मैं अर्ज़ कर रहा था कि मुहब्बत के मानी काम्प्रोमाइज़ है। लेकिन अगर आज़ादी कामिल चाहते हैं काम्प्रोमाइज़ नहीं चाहते, तो मेरा दिल अन्दर से कहता है कि महात्मा जी अगले साल इस कुर्सी पर न होंगे। (हीयर २ की ध्वनि)

श्री सुभाषचन्द्रबोस का भाषण

इसके पश्चात् श्रीयुत सुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने अंग्रेज़ी में व्याख्यान दिया।

तत्पश्चात् डा. आलम आये।

डाक्टर आलम का भाषण

श्री डाक्टर आलम साहब ने कहा—

" भाइयो और बहिनो, पेश्तर इसके कि मैं अपनी तरमीम को आप साहबान के सामने पेश करूँ, मैं यह कह देना चाहता हूँ कि जो तरमीमें अब तक आपके सामने पेश हुई हैं, वह दो तरह की हैं। एक किस्म की तरमीमें मालवी जी महाराज केलकर साहब वगैरा की थीं जिन का मतलब यह है कि इस मसले को अभी टाल दिया जाय। दूसरी तरमीम बोस साहब की है यह आज़ादी का मुकम्मल प्रोग्राम है। मेरी तरमीम दोनों से मुखालिफ़ है। मैं उस रिज़ोल्यूशन को मंजूर करता हूँ जो महात्मा गांधी का है। लेकिन उसमें सिर्फ एक बात ऐसी है जो मेरी समझ में नहीं आई। बड़ी कोशिश की बहुत सोचा लेकिन कुछ समझ में नहीं आया। (हास्य ध्वनि)—वह न चीज़ मेरी समझ में आती है न आपको। हमारी तजवीज़ यह है कि महात्मा जी की तजवीज़ में

जो यह अलफ़ाज़ हैं कि वायसराय साहब का उनकी कोशिश के लिये, जो उन्होंने की है, शुक्रिया अदा किया जाय उसे निकाल दीजिये। मैं तो चाहता हूं कि वह रहने दीजिये जो लीडरों के एलान के साथ हमदर्दी का हैं, और उनके काम की तारीफ की है। मगर वायसराय की तारीफ का हिस्सा निकाल दीजिये। अपने रहनुमाओं की तारीफ कीजिये—मगर मैं पूछता हूँ कि वायसराय की तारीफ़ इस में क्यों आती है? एक तरफ़ तो आज़ादी का एलान है कि २३ तारीख़ की कान्फ्रेन्स में जो वाइसराय साहब ने हमारे रहनुमाओं से गुफ्तगू की उस में उन्होंने कहा कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस पर गुफ्तगू करने के लिये वादा नहीं किया जा सकता। तो फिर वाइसराय साहब की ख़िदमात की तारीफ कहां से आती है? वाइसराय साहब का शुक्रिया तो हिन्दुस्तान अदा जब करता जब हिन्दुस्तान का हक़ दिलाने की वह कोशिश करते, अगर हिन्दुस्तान को उस का हक़ न मिले तो वह इस्तीफा देदें। तो मैं कहूंगा कि वाइसराय का शुक्रिया करें। इस वक्त क्या हम उन का शुक्रिया इस लिये अदा करें कि हमें कुछ नहीं मिला? (हास्य ध्वनि) या इस लिये शुक्रिया अदा करें कि डोमीनियम स्टेटस का.......दर्शन भी नहीं मिला। तो यह तो बिला वजह की मुहब्बत वाइसराय से मेरी समझ में कुछ न आई। तो मेरा कहना है कि जहां तक इन अलफ़ाज़ का ताल्लुक है—आप इन्हें बिलकुल निकालदें। उन की ज़रूरत नहीं है।

यह याद रखिये कि आज की तजवीज़ हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख़ में याद रखने की चीज़ होगी। आने वाली नसलें फ़ख़र और ग़रूर के साथ

इसे पढ़ा करेंगी। अगर यह लफ्ज़ इस तजवीज़ में रहे तो आने वाली नसलें आप पर हसेंगी कि जहां आप मुकम्मल आज़ादी का एलान करते हैं वहीं वाइसराय का शुक्रिया भी अदा करते हैं। अगर वाइसराय का शुक्रिया करते हैं तो उस को दूसरी तजवीज़ में कीजिये इस में इस को क्यों रखते हैं? यह बुरा है। बदनाम है—बदज़ेबा हैं इसे हटा दीजिये (हास्य ध्वनि)

भाइयो, मैं यह बताना चाहता हूं कि सब्जेक्टस कमेटी में जब यह तजवीज़

राष्ट्रपतिः—सेब्ज़ेक्टस कमेटी की तकरीर का यहां बयान न कीजिये—

मैं सब्ज़ेक्टस कमेटी का हवाला नहीं देता। सिर्फ़ यह कहता हूं कि यह तजवीज़ वहां एक वोट से गिर गयी थी। डेलीगेट भाइयों को याद रखना चाहिये कि जो वह पास करते हैं खूब सोच समझ कर करें।

मैं चाहता हूं कि वर्किंग कमेटी इन अलफ़ाज़ों को निकालदे। वाइसराय का शुक्रिया करना है तो अलग रिज़ोल्यूशन में करें। उस के लिये यह जगह नहीं है यहां उस के लिये गुंजायश नहीं है।

मिस्टर राजा, माधवनायर गोविन्दाचारी तथा डा० सत्यमूर्त्ति के भाषण

इस के बाद श्री एच. डी. राजामाधवनायर गोविन्दाचारी, और डाक्टर सत्यमूर्त्ति की अंग्रेज़ी में स्पीचें हुई।

तत्पश्चात् श्री आणे महोदय आये।

श्री आणे का भाषण

श्री आणे ने कहाः—“मेरी ज़बान हिन्दी नहीं है, मैं हिन्दी नहीं

जानता हूं लेकिन आप की इच्छा है तो मैं अपना विचार हिन्दी में प्रकाशित करता हूं' ग़लती मुआफ़ करें। मेरी तरमीम अंग्रेजी में लिखी है—अंग्रेजी में पढ़ कर सुना देता हूं।

(तरमीम पढ़ी)—मैंने तरमीम पढ़ कर सुनादी—इस का मतलब कर देता हूं। इसका सबब भी सुना देता हूं।

आप जानते है कि जो रिज़ेल्यूशन महात्मा गांधी ने आप के सामने पेश किया है उस रिज़ोल्यूशन का मतलब यह है कि कोई सबब ऐसा होगया है कि जिस से राउन्डटेबल कान्फ्रेन्स में जाना फ़ज़ूल है इस लिये उस में जाना ठीक नहीं है। मेरी तरमीम यह है कि जिस सबब से राउन्डटेबुल कान्फ्रेन्स का बायकाट बतलाते है उसे पूरा २ आप को ख्याल में रखना ज़रूरी है। राउन्डटेबुल कान्फ्रेन्स का बयान वाइसराय ने जब किया तो उस के बारे में देहली में सब पार्टी के लीडर अकट्ठे हूए। सब ने मिलकर एक मैनीफ़ेस्टो निकाला। उस में कुछ शरतें रखीं। मैं आप को उस रिज़ोल्यूशन का मतलब बतलाता हूं, जो महात्मा जी ने रखा है। मेरी तरमीम का मतलब यह है कि किन सबब से आप कांग्रेस के क्रीड को चेंज करना चाहते हैं उस का कारण यह बतलाया जाता है कि एक तारीख़ मुक़र्रर करदी थी कि उस के भीतर फैसला नहीं होगा तो चेंज कर देंगे। मेरा कहना है कि वाइसराय ने समय के भीतर एलान निकाला। कांग्रेस के लीडरों ने उस पर शर्त लगायी। हम को यह देखना चाहिये कि इस शर्त पर गवर्नमेन्ट चलने को तयार है या नहीं—यह पहली बात है। मेरा कहना यह है कि जो कुछ अब तक हम देख रहे हैं उस पर से यह

निर्णय नहीं कर सकते कि गर्वनमेन्ट हमारी शर्तों पर विचार नहीं करेगी। इस पर बात चीत हुई—माना कि पूरी बात चीत नहीं हुई मेरा कहना यह है कि जो कुछ आज तक हुआ है। उस पर आप खुले दिल से विचार करेंगे तो मालूम होगा कि गर्वनमेन्ट कान्फ्रेन्स में कोई अपना स्कीम नहीं रखेगी। बल्कि जो आप रखेंगे उस पर विचार होगा। इस लिये जो बात अब तक हुई है वह एक छोटा जेस्चर है। आप कान्फ्रेन्स में जांय या न जांय—लेकिन जो शर्त है, उस के ऊपर विचार करने के लिये कोई भी गर्वनमेन्ट हो, उसको वक्त मिले बिना ठीक नहीं होगा। जितना वक्त चाहिये उतना वक्त नहीं देना यह स्टेटसमैनशिप हो नहीं सकती। जितना वक्त मुनासिब होगा उतना दिया जाय।

तो ३१ दिसम्बर १६२८ मुकर्रर की थी—नेता लोग विचार करने बैठे—क्या फ़ैसला हुआ? आज जो रिज़ोल्यूशन हमारे सामने महात्मा जी का है यह नतीजा हुआ। उस में यह लिखा है कि वाइसराय साहब हमारे लिये कोशिश कर रहे हैं। उन के प्रयत्न को हम पसन्द करते हैं। यह कहा जाता है कि उन के अन्दर सचाई है। वाइसराय का मतलब यह है कि लार्ड इरविन बात नहीं कर रहे हैं। उन से पूछा गया उन्हों ने कहा कि वाइसराय की हैसियत से मैं यह बात कर रहा हूं इरविन की हैसियत से नहीं। जब उन के दिल में सचाई है तो आप उन्हें आज चेंज आफ़ हार्ट का सार्टिफ़िकेट दे रहे हैं। जब वह हमारी आज़ादी के सवाल को हल करने के लिये प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं तो वह सच्चे हैं। इसी लिये उन्हें चेंज आफ़ हार्ट

का सार्टिफिकेट दे रहे हैं। तो इस हालत में कान्फ्रेन्स में न जाना ठीक नहीं है। ज्यादा वक्त देना और वक्त देना स्टेटसमैनशिप होगी नीतिज्ञता का काम होगा।

आप स्पेशल कांग्रेस बुलाइये—आल पार्टीज़ कान्फ्रेन्स बुलाइये—पहले साल जो आन्दोलन किया था, जो प्रश्न उठाये थे, उन पर सब एक होकर कोशिश कीजिये। नहीं तो इस का मतलब यह होगा कि मत भेद पैदा होगा और आपस का संगठन जाता रहेगा। इस लिये मैं दो बात कहता हूं :—स्पेशल सैशन करें—आल पार्टीज़ कान्फ्रेन्स बुलायें—और देखें कि कान्फ्रेन्स में जाना चाहिये कि नहीं जाना चाहिये। गवर्नमेन्ट पर ज़ोर दीजिये कि वह पोलिटिकल प्रीज़नर्स की जनरल अमनेस्टी करें।

तत्पश्चात मौलाना जफ़र अलीखां साहब का भाषण हुआ।

ज़फर अलीखां का भाषण।

मौलाना ज़फ़र अलीखां ने कहा :—"मोहतरीम सदर, बिरादराने मिल्लत,........बुलबुल सदा तो सुना हसं २ कर अब कलेजा थाम कर बैठो कि मेरी बारी आई, (हास्य ध्वनि) मैं ने जो तरमीम मुरत्तब की है, महात्मा जी के रिज़ोल्यूशन में से सिर्फ़ तमहीद को, प्रिआम्बुल को निकाल दीजिये— बस मेरी तरमीम रह जाती है।

यह अच्छी तरह समझ लीजिये कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस जो आज ३१ दिसम्बर १९२९ को रात के १२ बजे तक मांगा गया था—उस की मौत की घड़ी में सिर्फ़ ५ घंटे रह गये हैं। १२ बजे तक़दीर का घंटा जैसे २ गूंज रहा होगा तो हिन्दुस्तान, आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तान हो

जायगा । (जय ० घोष)—यह मत समझिये कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस और कामिल आज़ादी में कोई बड़ा फ़र्क है । यह डोमीनियन स्टेटस भी कभी न देंगे । जब तक हमारे और उन के दरमियान खून का दरिया न बह जाय । आप जानते हैं, डोमीनियन स्टेटस है, आयरलैण्ड के लिये, जनूबी अफ़रीका, कानाडा के लिये, उन की जात पात एक शक्ल एक, सूरत एक, मज़हब एक तहज़ीब एक । दूसरी क़ौमो को लूट २ कर अपना पेट मोटा करने का जज़्बा एक—? (हास्य ध्वनि)—हमारी उन की क्या निस्बत ? वह गोरे हम काले ! वे निकर वाले महात्मा गांधी लंगोटे वाले ! (हास्य ध्वनि) वह चाय तोश उड़ाते, हम दूध रोटी खाते हैं ? तो हमारे लिये डोमीनियन स्टेटस क्या ?

मालवीय जी कहते हैं दो महीने के लिये और ठहर जाओ, सब्र करो, पेट के बल रेंग जाओ । हाथ जोड़ो, डडंवत करके कहो कि डोमीनियन स्टेटस दे दीजिये, मुमकिन है वह मान जांय (हास्य ध्वनि) जी, अंग्रेज़ मान जांयगे ? मानते हैं नहीं मानेंगे तो क्या करेंगे । अफरीका की तरह इन्डिपेन्डेस का डिक्लेरेशन करेंगे । लड़ते हैं और हाथ में तलवार नहीं । (हास्य ध्वनि)

तुम लोग जो यह समझते हो कि डोमीनियम स्टेटस हमें मिल जायगा—इन्डिपेन्डेन्स डिक्लेयर करने की ज़रूरत नहीं, उन्हें मैं कहता हूं कि महात्मा जी के लफ्ज़ों को याद रक्खो जिन को अहिंसा का अवतार कहते हो—उनके अलफ़ाज़ यह हैं । मुझे याद है जब मेरी उन की मंसूरी में गुफ्तगू हुई थी—उन अलफ़ाज़ को मैंने अपने दिमाग़ में रख लिया । उन्होंने कहा कि अगर ३१ दिसम्बर १९२९ की रात के

१२ बजे तक अंग्रेज़ कैनाडा के वज़न का डोमीनियन स्टेटस न देंगे तो १ जनवरी १६३० को कोई और हिन्दुस्तान में न हुआ तो सिर्फ़ गांधी होगा जो इन्डिपेन्डेन्स का एलान कर देगा (हीयर हीयर) मैंने कहा अगर ऐसा है तो मैं अपने को आप के सुपुर्द करता हूँ — लाखों मुसलमान साथ देंगे। फिर इसी सिलसिले में एक फ्रेन्च आये हुए थे........।

(इसी बीच में घंटी बज गई,) जनाब यह क्या ? खत्म ? दस मिनट तो और दीजिये—(हां हां) मालवीय जी गुलामी की तालीम दें तो ५० मिनट, और मैं आज़ादी की तालीम दूं तो १० मिनट ? (हास्य ध्वनि) उन्होंने कहा हिन्दुस्तान में आज़ादी कैसे होगी। हिन्दू मुसलमानों में जंग है—आपस की लड़ाई है—कितने मरेंगे कितने कटेंगे ! महात्मा जी ने उस वक्त जो जवाब दिया उसके लफ्ज़ मुझे अब तक याद हैं। If it is Gods will then river of blood shall have to flow in this country."

इस से मालूम होता है कि महात्मा जी अहिंसा को खुदा समझ कर उस की परस्तिश नहीं करते वक्त आयेगा तो तलवार लेलेंगे। ख्वाह वह वक्त साल में आये या दो साल में। याद रक्खें, हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद होगा, हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद होगा। तलवार की बड़ाई को पहचानो फिर सलतनत मिला करती है।

अगर जवाहरलाल और महात्मा गांधी कहेंगे कि चुप बैठ जाओ तो बुज़दिल बन कर टोडी बनकर मैं बैठने को तय्यार हूं—मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि कुर्बानी का वक्त आयेगा तो पीछे हट नहीं सकता।

(शेर पढ़ा) हम कांग्रेस वाले नानवाइलेन्स, अदमेतशद्दुद करेंगे लेकिन अगर वक्त आया तो निकल पड़ेंगे ! कांग्रेस ने बात नहीं मानी तो बग़ावत करेंगे। जब तक कांग्रेस हैं, रंजीदा हैं इसी बिना पर यह रिज़ोल्यूशन पेश किया है। वाइसराय की तारीफ़ का फ़िकरा उड़ा दो ! बृटिश कनेक्शन हिन्दुस्तान के साथ से १२ बजे रात को हमेशा के लिये फ़ना हो जायगा ! सलतनत बरतानिया की मौत होजायगी ! अगर ज़िन्दा रहना चाहता है तो हिन्दुस्तान का पार्ट बन कर रहेगा। जुज़कुल से बड़ा नहीं होता—इंग्लिस्तान पंजाब के बराबर हैं। हम बादशाह जिस को चाहेंगे बनादेंगे। जवाहर लाल को ताज पहना देंगे। या चाहे जिस को ! आज़ादी की ज़हेनियत पेदा करो। हर्गिज़ २ वाइसराय की एप्रीसियेशन का फ़िकरा रिज़ोल्यूशन में मत रक्खो—उसे निकाल दो।

(जय २ की ध्वनि)

दूसरी बात यह है कि काउन्सिलों के बायकाट के साथ अदालतों का भी बायकाट होना चाहिये। काउन्सिलों का काम है क़ानून बनाना ! वह आईन, क़ानून बनाती हैं। अदालतें इन्हीं क़ानूनों से चलती हैं। इस लिये उनका भी बायकाट होना चाहिये। काउन्सिलों में जाकर क्या करते हैं ? वाइसराय और गवर्नर को हक़ वीटो का हासिल है— जो यह पास करते हैं, वह उसे फेल करते हैं ! इस लिये काउन्सिलों और अदालतों दोनों का बायकाट होना चाहिये।

इस के साथ अब कांग्रेस उन लोगों को दावत देती है जो नहरू रिपोर्ट की वजह से कांग्रेस से किनारा करगये थे अब कामिल आज़ादी का

मौका आगया है—वह आगे आयें। जो भाई उस में यकीन करते हैं आगे आयें। अब भी अगर अलग रहे तो गद्दार होंगे, टोडी होंगे, दुश्मने वतन होंगे! नवजवानों के खून में गरमी आजायगी। कांग्रेस के बुनियादी पत्थर वही हैं—ज़िन्दा ज़हेनियत को लेकर आगे बढ़ेंगे।

इन अलफाज़ के साथ आखिर में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आप मेरी तरमीम को याद रखें—महात्मा जी की शाख्सियत है—आप उस ज़बरदस्त शाख्सियत में न भूल जांय। यह आवाज़ जो एक सच्चे दिल के अन्दर से निकली है उस की कदर करें—उस के लिये वोट दें।

इस के पश्चात श्री मौली चन्द्र शर्मा आये।

श्री मौलिचन्द्र शर्म्मा का भाषण

श्री मौलिचन्द्र शर्म्मा ने कहा—सभापति जी, देवियो और सज्जनो, इस से पहले कि मैं अपने संशोधन की शब्दावली आप को सुनाऊं, उसका विषय मैं आपको समझा देना चाहता हूं।

जितने प्रस्ताव आपके समक्ष उपस्थित हुए हैं उनको दो हिस्सों में बांटा जा सकता है। महात्मा जी का प्रस्ताव और कई संशोधन तो ऐसे हैं जिन का मतलब यह है कि इस देश का अन्तिम ध्येय पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता घोषित कर दिया जाय और बृटिश गवर्नमेण्ट के साथ आइन्दा बातचीत के लिये दरवाज़ा बन्द कर दिया जाय। दूसरे ऐसे हैं जो चाहते हैं कि इस मामले को कुछ दिनों के लिये टाल दिया जाय और अन्य राजनैतिक दलों से बात करके विचार पूर्वक फिर फ़ैसला किया जाय। मैंने तीसरा रास्ता निकाला है जो सीधा है।

कलकत्ता कांग्रेस ने निर्णय किया था कि ३१ दिसम्बर सन् १९२९ तक हम डोमिनियन स्टेटस का इन्तज़ार करेंगे, बाद में पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता की घोषणा कर देंगे। ३१ दिसम्बर आगई परन्तु अभी डोमिनियन स्टेटस पर राउण्ड टेबल कान्फ्रेन्स में बातचीत करने की शर्त को भी सरकार ने मंज़ूर नहीं किया है। इस कारण कांग्रेस के अनेक नेता इस स्वतन्त्रता की घोषणा करने के लिये मौका समझते हैं। मैं उन्हें स्वतन्त्रता का एलान करने से नहीं रोकता, परन्तु यह कहता हूं कि ऐसा कर देने पर भी गवर्नमेण्ट से बात चीत का रास्ता बन्द नहीं किया जाना चाहिये।

इस का कारण साफ़ है। जहां कांग्रेस पूर्ण स्वराज्य को अपना मियार क़ायम करने जारही है, वहां अहिंसात्मक तरीक़ों पर उसका अटल विश्वास है। ऐसी दशा में मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता कि पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता केवल शान्ति पूर्ण तरीक़ों से कैसे मिल सकती है। या तो ऐसा कहकर हम अपने को धोका दे रहे हैं, या दुनिया को धोका देना चाहते हैं। परन्तु २—४—१० को धोका दिया जा सकता है, संसार को धोका नहीं दिया जा सकता। मेरा मतलब यह है, कि या तो ऐसा मत रखने वालों का मुकम्मल आज़ादी का एलान वास्तविक नहीं है, या उनका शान्ति के तरीक़ों पर विश्वास नहीं है।

परन्तु हम जानते हैं कि कांग्रेस का विश्वास सदा से शान्ति पूर्ण तरीक़ा पर चला आया है। और जब यही स्वराज्य प्राप्ति का एक मात्र तरीक़ा है तो इसका यही अर्थ है कि जब कभी हम गवर्नमेण्ट को इतना तंग कर देंगे कि उसका काम चलना असम्भव हो जायगा तो वह हमारे सामने झुक जायगी, हम से समझौता करेगी और हमारे अधिकार हमें

दे देगी। इस प्रकार, यह अनिवार्य है कि एक न एक दिन गवर्नमेण्ट से बात चीत करके निपटारा किया जाय, मुकाहमत या समझौता हो। सिवाय इस के शान्ति पूर्ण साधनों से स्वराज्य प्राप्ति का कोई दूसरा मार्ग हो ही नहीं सकता।

आयर्लैण्ड का उदाहरण हमारे सामने है। वहां तो शान्ति पूर्ण प्रयत्न ही नहीं खून खराबा भी हुआ था। परन्तु वहां के नेताओं ने भी बात चीत का रास्ता बन्द नहीं किया था। मैं भी यही चाहता हूं। इस कारण मेरा निवेदन है कि यह जो शब्द हैं—"In the existing circumstances" बहुत गोल हैं। उन को निकाल कर उन के आगे बढ़ा दीजिये, So long as the conditions आदि। इससे मेरी मंशा यह है कि हम आज़ादी का ऐलान कर देते हैं, बल्कि यों कहना चाहिये कि पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता को अपना अन्तिम ध्येय मुक़र्रर करते हैं। परन्तु जब यह स्पष्ट है कि हम अपने मियारे आज़ादी पहुँचने के लिये डोमिनियन स्टेटस प्राप्त करके आज की निस्बत अधिक मज़बूत होंगे तो क्यों न हम डोमिनियन स्टेटस की प्राप्ति के लिये गोलमेज़ कान्फ़रेन्स में जाकर हिस्सा लें ? इस लिये हमारी देहली वाली शर्तें मान कर यदि गवर्नमेण्ट हमें डोमिनियन स्टेटस के विषय में बातें करने के लिये बुलायें तो हमें इन्कार नहीं करना चाहिये। ऐसा करके हम ताक़त हासिल करेंगे और स्वतन्त्रता लेने के योग्य हो जायेंगे। इस कारण मैं कहता हूं कि डोमिनियन स्टेटस लेने के लिये बात चीत का रास्ता खुला रहने दें।

इस के पश्चात् ही अभयंकर आये।

श्री अभयंकर का भाषण

उनके आते ही हिन्दी २ की ध्वनि हुई। उन्होंने कहा:—

"अगर आप टूटी फूटी हिन्दी में तकरीर सुनना चाहते हैं तो मैं सुना देता हूँ। सुनिये—

हमारा कहना यह है (जवानों का बूढ़ों से) कि भाई साहब अगर आप अपना काम हम से कराना चाहते हैं तो आप हमारे दिमाग़ का भी ख्याल रखिये। आप को जो बात अच्छी लगती होगी और शायद सचमुच अच्छी होगी, वह हम जवानों को खराब दिखायी पड़ती है। आज के वक्त आप स्वतंत्रता का गोल इन्डिपेन्डेन्स का ध्येय जो हमारे सामने रखते हैं और इस के लिये हमारे से जो काम चाहते हैं वह नहीं हो सकेगा अगर वह तजवीज़ पास करेंगे।

भाइयो! यह तो बिल्कुल छोटी सी बात है कि जो शख्स यहां अपने देश की स्वाधीनता के लिये आये हैं। वह इसको स्वीकार कभी भी नहीं कर सकते। आज यदि स्थिति ऐसी है कि जो हिन्दुस्तान का ध्येय है वही इंगलैण्ड का नुक़सान है। और जिस में इंगलैण्ड का नुक़सान है। उस में हिन्दुस्तान का फ़ायदा है। (एक आवाज़, ऐसा नहीं हो सकता)।" एक शख्स कहते हैं कि ऐसा नहीं हो सकता।

भाइयो! उनको मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेज़ भी आदमी हैं—वह भी आत्मा रखते हैं। जब तक अंग्रेज़ आत्मा रखेंगे तब तक वह हिन्दुस्तान का भला नहीं कर सकते, जो अंग्रेज़ हिन्दुस्तान का अच्छा करेगा इंगलैण्ड का (अपने देश का) बुरा करेगा! जो हिन्दुस्तानी इंगलैण्ड का अच्छा करेगा वह हिन्दुस्तान की नज़र से हिन्दुस्तान का दुश्मन होगा। यह एक सिद्धान्त है।

जब तक वाइसराय अंग्रेज़ है वह हमको ठगता रहेगा, अगर अपने मुल्क का भला चाहेगा। तो आज की दुनिया में ऐसा नहीं हो सकता। मेरे को यह मालूम नहीं होता कि यह रिज़ोल्यूशन वाइसराय की तारीफ़ करने वाला जब यह कांग्रेस होती है तो हम कांग्रेस में बैठे हैं या किसी माडरेट सभा में (हास्य ध्वनि)।"

राष्ट्रपति महोदय "अब आइन्दा ५ मिनट से .ज्यादा न मिलेंगे।"

तत्पश्चात् श्री विश्वनाथ ने अंग्रेज़ी में भाषण दिया।

श्री जमुनादास मेहता का भाषण

श्री जमुनादास मेहता ने कहा :—

"अध्यक्ष महोदय, भाइयो और बहिनों, जो महात्मा जी ने स्थापना आप के सामने विचार के लिये रखी है मैं उसका विरोध करता हूँ। आपके हुक्म से मैंने हिन्दी में बोलना शुरू कर दिया है। जो लफ्ज़ चूक जाय उसके लिये माफ़ कर देना। अंग्रेज़ी में एक कहावत है "Some things are good, some bad, and some indiffrents" महात्मा जी की स्थापना कुछ भाग में अच्छी है कुछ में बुरी कुछ में मध्य हैं। जो सिविलडिसोबिडियेन्स की बात है वह निहायत अच्छी है। काउन्सिल का बायकाट किया जाता है। वह बड़ी गम्भीर भूल है।

मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप ईजिप्ट का प्रस्ताव देखिये, आयरलैण्ड का देखिये, साउथ अफ्रीका का देखिये। एशिया में लेनिन ने क्या किया ? ईजिप्ट में भी लोग पार्लियामेंट में गये आयरलैण्ड में डीवेलस नहीं जाते थे मगर फिर वह भी गये। डोमिनियन स्टेटस

अफ्रीका में है—वहां लोग यूनियन जैक की जगह अफ्रीकन फ्लैग चाहते हैं। मगर फिर भी काउन्सिलों में जाते हैं।

मैं निहायत अदब से कहूँगा कि एक विट्ठलभाई पटेल ने असेम्बली के प्रेज़ीडेन्टी के ज़रिये से जो कर दिखलाया है वह यहाँ डायस पर बैठने वाला कोई नहीं कर सकता। आज चार वर्ष से विट्ठल भाई ने जो हिन्दुस्तान का मस्तक ऊँचा किया है वैसा करने वाले .ज्यादा नहीं हैं। और जो कांग्रेस वाले असेम्बली में न जाते तो जो बातें हुई हैं नहीं हो सकतीं—आर्डीनेन्स पास हो गया होता। हंगरस्ट्राईकर्स बिल भी हम कांग्रेस वाले न होते तो पास हो जाता! क्या ताज्जुब की बात है कि वकील लोग पैसा कमाकर अपनी जेब में डालें—मगर ग़रीब लोगों के लिये कायदा बनाने का मौका आए तो कांउन्सिल में न जायं? श्री निवास साहेब, पंडित मोतीलाल नहरू साहब, जे. एम सेनगुप्त साहेब को वकालत करने दी जाय, लेकिन कांउन्सिल में जाने की मंज़ूरी नहीं! इस से बढ़ कर कुछ और इनकान्सिस्टेन्ट नहीं हो सकता "शेम शेम"।

अब असेम्बली में आने वाला है हाजी का कोस्टल बिल। इस से १० करोड़ रुपया बाहर जाता है। १० करोड़ से .ज्यादा नुकसान फाइनान्स बिल से है। चुस्टर साहब .ज्यादा टैक्स बढ़ाने पर ज़ोर डालते हैं। अगर आप यह नहीं करें तो कैसे होगा! एक बात और .ज्यादा कह कर मैं अपनी जगह चला जाऊँगा। असेम्बली और काउन्सिल से बढ़ कर दूसरी प्रोपेगन्डा कर सकते हैं। सिविलडिसीओबिडियेन्स करें तो उसके लिये बायकाट करने का क्या काम? आप जब चाहें कांग्रेस के

हुक्म से कोई भी टैक्स बन्द हो सकता है। इस के लिये बायकाट की ज़रूरत नहीं।

महात्मा जी ने कहा कि डेलीगेट साहबों को यह पसन्द न हो तो इसे पास न करें—वह इसके लिये आज्ञा नहीं करते। महात्मा जी ऐसा नहीं कहते कि कांउन्सिलों का बायकाट करो—आप को पसन्द हो तो आप करें। मुझे पसन्द नहीं है। यह प्रोपेगैण्डा की जगह है। काउन्सिलों के बायकाट की ग़लती मत करो।

राष्ट्रपति—"जो लोग चाहते हैं और स्पीचें हों? जो चाहते हैं मुबाहसा बन्द हो?

"बन्द हो बन्द हो" की ध्वनि।

इस के पश्चात् महात्मा गांधी जी जय जय घोष के बीच सभा मंच पर आये।

पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता के प्रस्ताव पर महात्मा गांधी का भाषण

महात्मा गांधी ने कहा:—"सभापति महोदय, भाइयो और बहिनों, जो कुछ मैं आप से कह रहा हूँ अगर आप नहीं सुन रहे हैं तो मुझे बतलादें! आप नहीं सुन रहे हैं क्या? (नहीं, नहीं)।

अब आप सुनते हैं? आपको ज़रूर कृपा करके सुन लेना चाहिये (हास्य ध्वनि) सम्भव है कि आप सुन लेंगे। तो आपको लाभ होगा नहीं भी सुनेंगे तो मेरा कुछ हर्ज नहीं है! (हास्य ध्वनि)। आप लोगों के हाथ में दूसरा प्रस्ताव है उस को पढ़ने वाला हूँ—

"आप को मेरी आवाज़ आती है?" ऐसा राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने लाउड-

स्पीकर पर मुँह करके कहा—(हास्य ध्वनि) बड़े ज़ोर की हुई। अब लाउडस्पीकर ठीक होगया था। महात्मा जी ने भाषण आरम्भ करते हुए कहा—

जो प्रस्ताव आप लोगों के हाथ में है उस प्रस्ताव को मैं पढ़ता हूँ अगर आप इजाज़त दे दें तो मैं उस के पढ़ने को छोड़ दूँ। क्योंकि आप सब भाइयों और बहिनों के हाथ में यह प्रस्ताव अंग्रेज़ी में है। इतना तो आप ने समझ लिया होगा। अगर आप समझते हैं तो कृपा करके आप सुन लेंगे तो मैं अंग्रेज़ी में पढ़ने को छोड़ देता हूँ और उस का मतलब हिन्दी में जो बतलाना चाहता हूँ बतला दूँगा। पहले तो यह एक लम्बा प्रस्ताव है और यह प्रस्ताव कांग्रेस की जो कार्रवाई करना चाहते हैं उसकी जड़ है। इस लिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप लोग सब इस प्रस्ताव को अच्छी तरह समझ लें। और इस प्रस्ताव के बारे में निश्चित भाव पैदा करें।

हमारे सामने बड़े २ काम पड़े हैं। मैं बड़े अदब से कहूँगा कि कोशिश करके जो काम हमारे सामने हैं उसे करना चाहिए। तो पहली बात इस प्रस्ताव में यह है कि वर्किंग कमेटी ने, जो वाइसराय से इस वर्ष में अक्तूबर मास की ३१ तारीख़ का जो एलान निकला था, उसके बारे में हमारे अगुआ लोगों ने जवाब दिया और राउण्डटेबुल कान्फ्रेंस के लिये कै़द रखी गयी थी, उस बारे में वर्किंग कमेटी ने जो कुछ किया यह कांग्रेस उसको बहाल रखती है। यह एक हिस्सा है।

और दूसरा हिस्सा यह है कि इस बारे में वाइसराय ने जो कुछ

समझौता होने के लिये स्वराज्य के बारे में मेहनत की है यह कांग्रेस—उसकी तारीफ़ करती है।

तीसरा हिस्सा यह है कि अगर्चे यह कांग्रेस उसकी कृदर तो करती है लेकिन कांग्रेस जो गांधी, पंडित मोतीलालजी नेहरू, तेज बहादर सप्रू और जिन्ना वगैरह वाइसराय के पास गये और उनकी वाइसराय से गुफ्तगू हुई उसका नतीजा सुनने के बाद यह निश्चय करती है कि मौजूदा हालात में राउण्डटेबुल कान्फ्रेन्स में कांग्रेस के प्रतिनिधियों के जाने से कोई फ़ायदा हासिल नहीं हो सकता। तो इस कारण कांग्रेस के प्रतिनिधियों को राउन्डटेबुल कान्फ्रेन्स हो तो भी नहीं जाना चाहिये। बहुत से लोग तो जायेंगे मगर हम क्या करें हम को यह देखना है।

कांग्रेस ने कलकत्ते में पिछले साल एक प्रस्ताव किया था। कलकत्ते में इण्डिपेन्डेन्स का प्रस्ताव किया था। इस के लिये पोलिटिकल भाषा में स्वराज्य के मानी सम्पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता कर दिया गया था। आज से इन्डिपेन्डेन्स होजाता है। इस लिये कांग्रेस यह बतलाना चाहती है नेहरु रिपोर्ट जिस के पक्ष में बृटिश गवर्नमेन्ट को करना चाहते थे वह अब खतम हो जाती है—क्योंकि उस के लिये जो वक्त रक्खा था वह गुज़र गया। उसकी आयु कलकत्ते में १ वर्ष की गयी थी। एक वर्ष के भीतर स्वीकार करना चाहें तो बृटिश गवर्नमेन्ट करले। मगर वह पूरा नहीं हुआ। इसलिये नेहरु रिपोर्ट अब कांग्रेस के लिये नहीं है। यह इस प्रस्ताव में लिखा हुआ है। इसलिये कांग्रेस यह उम्मीद करती है कि कांग्रेस के मतहत जो संस्थायें हैं वह सम्पूर्ण आज़ादी पाने के लिये जो कुछ वह कर सकतीं हैं कोशिश करेंगी।

इस के पीछे यह लिखा है कि यह काम करने के लिये पहले कांग्रेस ने स्वराज्य शब्द के लिये इन्डिपेन्डेन्स को कांग्रेस के क्रीड में प्रवेश कर लिया है तो इसके मुताबिक काम करना चाहिये। इस कारण अब कांग्रेस यह निश्चय करती है कि जो असेम्बली और काउन्सिलों के एलेक्शन होते हैं उन में कांग्रेस के लोग कोई हिस्सा नहीं लेंगे। और सब लोग जो वहां हैं, उनसे इस्तीफ़ा दे दें। और असेम्बली और काउन्सिलों से हट जायं। यह बताया है। और कांग्रेस का नेशिन को यह कहना है कि कौम को, प्रजा को, फ़रमाना है कि अब कांग्रेस का जो रचनात्मक कार्य है जैसे खद्दर, अस्पृश्यता निवारण, इत्यादि इस में लग जायं। और कांग्रेस, आलइन्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी को यह अख्तियार दे दें कि जब वायुमण्डल अनुकूल है, ऐसा लगे, और जो शर्तें सामने हैं उसके साथ जिस सूबे में, या जहां अच्छा लगे वहां आलइन्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी, जिस हल्के को अच्छा समझे, वहां सिविल नाफ़रमानी करें—और उसमें नोटैक्स पैमेन्ट भी आता है। सिविल डिसोबिडियन्स को पूरा करें। यह सब मतलब इस प्रस्ताव का है।

अभी मैं इस प्रस्ताव के बारे में कुछ ज़्यादा कहना नहीं चाहता। आप देख रहे हैं कि इस प्रस्ताव का सुधारना करने के लिये १०, १२ अमेन्डमेंट पेश किये गये हैं। मैं आपको भी आराम दूं और अपने को भी आराम देना चाहता हूँ। इसलिये मैं आपका वक्त बरबाद नहीं करूंगा। यह ज़रूर कहूंगा जो आप अच्छी तरह ध्यान देकर जो मुखालिफत में कहा जाता है उसे सुनें। एक छोटी बात और ज़रूर कहूंगा। पहले हिस्से में जो लिखा है वह बयान है—उसमें यह नहीं

आता है कि वाइसराय साहब की तारीफ की गई है। और असल में वह एक स्वतंत्र चीज़ है। दूसरी बात यह कि असेम्बली और काउन्सिल से इस्तीफा देंगे। तो मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूं। कि आप इस पर ख्याल करके बहस सुनें। हक तो यह है कि सारा प्रस्ताव लम्बा चौड़ा एक ही है सब पर एक बहस हो। यह प्रस्ताव कलकत्ते में कांग्रेस ने जो इकरार कर लिया था उस पर चलने के लिये रखा गया है। तो आप सारी बहस सुन लेंगे—जो अच्छा होगा उसको मंज़ूर कर लेंगे जो अच्छा नहीं होगा उसको बहाल नहीं करेंगे। (हास्य ध्वनि)

महा सभा की तीसरे दिन की कार्यवाई

१—१—३०

राष्ट्रपति की ओर से प्रस्ताव

बाद दोपहर महा सभा के तृतीय अधिवेशन की कार्यवाही आरम्भ हुई। गत दिनों की न्याई आरम्भ में वन्देमातरम् आदि का गान हुआ।

तत्पश्चात् श्री राष्ट्रपति महोदय पंडित जवाहरलाल जी सभा मंच पर आये—जय जय घोष हुआ

उन्होंने कहा :—

" हज़रात कल जो रिज़ोल्यूशन आपने मंजूर किया है उस के बाद गुंजाइश नहीं रह जाती कि कुछ और करें। पहले ज्यादा रिज़ोल्यूशन किया करते थे—लेकिन जब ऐसा रिज़ोल्यूशन पास कर लिया तो अब छोटी मोटी शिकायतों की ज़रूरत नहीं रही "।

" आज के लिये चन्द रिज़ोल्यूशन हैं—मैं खुद उन में से दो तीन पेश कर देता हूँ।"

इस्ट अफ्रीका के सम्बन्ध में।

"पहला रिज़ोल्यूशन इस्ट अफ्रीका के सम्बन्ध में है। यह रिज़ोल्यूशन मुबारकबाद का है। श्री मती सरोजनीनायडू के लिये। जो इतनी तकलीफ़ उठाकर इस्ट अफ्रीका गयी थीं। यह कांग्रेस इस्ट अफ्रीका के हिन्दुस्तानियों के साथ भी हमदर्दी जाहिर करती है कि वह अपने हक के लिये लड़ रहे हैं मगर इस कांग्रेस की राय में जब तक हिन्दुस्तान का फैसला न हो जाय कोई फ़ैसला उन लोगों का नहीं हो सकता। हिन्दुस्तान अपने लिये जिस तरह कोशिश कर रहा है उसी तरह उनके लिये भी—हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी में उनकी आज़ादी भी है। जब वोट देने का फर्क, जायदाद लेने का फर्क दूर न हो जायगा। अफ्रीका के हिन्दुस्तानियों को बराबर कोशिश रखनी चाहिये उम्मीद है आप इसे इतिफ़ाक राय से पास करेंगे? (मंजूर २ पास, पास)।

पासपोर्ट के सम्बन्ध में

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कहा :—

एक और रिज़ोल्यूशन है—यह पासपोर्ट के सम्बन्ध में है। यह प्रस्ताव यह है :—"कि हमारे जो भाई हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर इंग्लैंण्ड और अमेरिका और दूसरे मुल्कों में रहने वाले हिन्दुस्तानी हैं उनको अपने मुल्क में आने की इजाज़त नहीं मिली। वह अपने घर हिन्दुस्तान वापस नहीं आ सकते। इस में से बाज़ २ बरसों से बाहर हैं। इन में से कई वापस आने वाले थे—खास कर कामरेड सकलात वाले, इस कांग्रेस में आने वाले थे—लंडन में एक कांग्रेस की शाखा है वहां से डेलिगट चुने गये थे। लेकिन इस लेबर गवर्नमेंट ने जो बड़ी फ़याज़ है इजाजत

नहीं दी कि वह यहां आयें। अमेरिका से सरदार नाथदास आने वाले थे उनको भी इजाज़त नहीं मिली। आप इस रिज़ोल्यूशन को मंजूर करते हैं? (मंजूर २ पास २)

सरकारी कर्ज़े के सम्बन्ध में

इसके पश्चात् राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कहा :—" यह रिज़ोल्यूशन Financial Burden Debt to Govern-ment of India के सम्बन्ध में है—मैं आपके सामने बहैसियत सदर पेश कर देता हूँ। यह निहायत ज़रूरी है।

आप को मालूम है कि अंग्रेज़ी हकूमत हिन्दुस्तान में बड़े २ कर्ज़े लेती है। बड़ी २ लड़ाईयें लड़ी गई हैं—अफ़ग़ानिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान में सब जगह जंग हुई हैं—उनके लिये जो कर्ज़े लिया गया है वह सब हिन्दुस्तान के नाम लिख दिया गया है। आप के हिसाब में वह सारा रुपया लिखा जाता है। हिन्दुस्तान का कर्ज़ा बढ़ता जा रहा है और बहुत बढ़ गया है। हिन्दुस्तान पूरा आज़ाद हो जाय तो भी उसका आगे बढ़ना बहुत मुश्किल हो गया है। सारी आमदनी इस कर्ज़े का सूद देने में निकल जायगी। वह हमारे ऊपर क्या कर्ज़े है जो हमें गुलाम बनाने में खर्च किया गया है? जो कर्ज़े हिन्दुस्तान और अफ़गानीस्तान की लड़ाई लड़ने के लिये लिया गया और इसी तरह के कामों के लिये लिया गया, कांग्रेस एलान करती है कि वह उसकी ज़िम्मेदार नहीं है। हम सिर्फ उस कर्ज़े के ज़िम्मेदार होंगे जो हिन्दुस्तान के फ़ायदे के लिये लिया गया है। मसलन रेल बनाने के लिये, नहर निकालने के लिये, वगैरह—उसके ज़िम्मेदार हैं। जो फ़ज़ूल खर्च किया

गया है उसके ज़िम्मेदार नहीं हैं। इसके लिये एक अदालत मुकर्रर करें कि जो देखे कि कौन २ सा कर्ज़ देना चाहिये कौन २ सा नहीं ? आप में से चन्द साहब को मालूम होगा कि अब से ६ साल पहले गया में एक ऐसा ही रिज़ोल्यूशन पास हुआ था। उसका मतलब यह था कि बृटिश गवर्नमेन्ट जो कर्ज़ लेगी हम उसको मंज़ूर नहीं करेंगे। उस के लिये असहयोग करेंगे।

इस ज़माने में आपको मालूम होगा गुजरात के लोगों ने बारडोली में असहयोग किया था—गुजरात का नाटा आदमी भारी आदमी से बाज़ी ले जाता है। इसका भी ज़िक्र है।"

आप इस को मंज़ूर करते हैं ? (मंज़ूर मंज़ूर पास २।)

कांग्रेस की तिथियों के सम्बन्ध में

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कहा :—"एक और ज़रूरी और नये किस्म का रिज़ोल्यूशन पेश करता हूँ। जब से यह कांग्रेस शुरू हुई है, ४४ वर्ष से जहां तक मुझे इल्म है यह क्रिस्मस के ज़माने में होती आयी है। अब एक नई तजवीज़ है, इन तारीख़ों को बदलने के लिये, यह है फ़रवरी या मार्च के महीने में कांग्रेस करने के लिये। आज कल के मौसिम में बड़ी तक़लीफ़ होती है। ख़ास करके जो लोग दक्षिण से आते हैं उन्हें बहुत गर्म कपड़ा लाना पड़ता है। स्वागत कारिणी कमेटी को बहुत इन्तज़ाम करना पड़ता है। वक्त आने वाला है जब किसान भाई, मज़दूर भाई ज्यादा इस में आयेंगे। तो कांग्रेस अब ऐसे मौसिम में होगी जब वह भाई आसानी से आसकें।

मंज़ूर है ? (नहीं २।)

पंडित नेकीराम शर्मा ने कहा :—दिसम्बर में रेल का किराया कम होता है। फ़रवरी और मार्च में फ़सल होती है—इन महीनों में ठीक न होगा—अव्वल बात जो फ़ायदे की है अर्ज़ कर चुका हूँ। रेल का किराया इस मास में कम होता है—

राष्ट्रपति ने भाषण आरभ रखते हुए कहा :—"मैं बहैसियत सदर के मुबाहिसा नहीं करूँगा—पंडित नेकीराम शर्मा ने जो कहा है उस का जबाब दूँगा। एक बात वह यह कहते हैं कि क्रिस्मस में किराया कम होता है। उस की निस्बत दो तीन बातें कहूँगा। एक तो यह कि जो लोग दूसरे पहले दर्जे में आते हैं उन का किराया कम होता है। तीसरे दर्जे के लोगों का कोई ज़्यादा कम नहीं होता है। फ़रवरी, मार्च के ज़माने में ईस्टर का वक्त होता है। जो रियायत अब होती है उस वक्त भी हो सकती है। अगर न भी हो तो ऐसे मौक़ा पर रेलवे कन्शेशन देना मंजूर कर लेती है। फ़सल के लिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि थोड़ी दिक़्क़त हर वक्त होगी। लेकिन यह ख्याल रक्खा जाता है कि कम से कम दिक़्क़त हो। क्या आप को मंजूर है? "नहीं २"।

Mr. Darman के Suggest करने पर कि यह प्रस्ताव समाप्ती की बजाये किसी दूसरे को रखना चाहिये या डा० सत्यपाल ने प्रस्ताव ले लिया—

श्री डाक्टर सत्य पाल का भाषण।

श्री डाक्टर सत्यपाल जी ने कहा :—"जनाब सदर, भाइयो

और बहिनो जो रिज़ोल्यूशन पहले आप के सामने सदर साहब ने रक्खा था उस का मतलब यह है कि कांग्रेस का इजलास बजाय क्रिस्मस के फ़रवरी या मार्च में रक्खा जाय। इस में तो आप को कोई एतराज़ नहीं होना चाहिये।

पहली बात यह है कि इन्डिपेन्डेन्स के बाद क्रिस्मस का ख्याल छोड़ देना चाहिये। अगर आप कांग्रेस के लिये इतनी भी कुर्बानी नहीं कर सकते कि जो लोग वकील हैं २—४ दिन के लिये अपने मुक़दमों को मुल्तवी करा दें तो क्या करसकते हैं ?

इम्तिहान के लिये यह है कि मार्च में इम्तिहान हुआ करते हैं। हमारे सूबे में इम्तिहान नहीं होता। इम्तिहान तो वैसे दिसम्बर में भी इस दफ़ा इम्तिहान रख दिया गया था, ताकि लड़के काम करने के लिये न मिलें। मुझे उम्मीद है कि जो रिज़ोल्यूशन वर्किंग कमेटी की तरफ़ से आया है आप उसे ज़रूर बिलइत्तिफ़ाक़ मंजूर करेंगे।"

इस के बाद श्री सरदार सार्दुल सिंह जी आये।

श्री सरदार सार्दूलसिंह जी का भाषण

श्री सार्दूलसिंह जी ने कहा :—"प्रधान साहब, डेलीगेट भाईयो, और बहिनों मैं उस रिज़ोल्यूशन की जो डाक्टर सत्यपाल साहब ने आप के सामने रक्खा है ताईद करने आया हूँ। (नहीं २) इस जगह यह एतराज़ किया जाता है और जिस वजह से इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की मुख़ालफ़त की जा रही है वह वजह यह है कि तुलबा और वकील साहबान कांग्रेस में शरीक हुआ करते हैं। वह शरीक न हो सकेंगे।

याद रखिये, हमारी कांग्रेस के बरख़िलाफ़ जो एतराज़ किया जाता है वह यह है कि "हालीडे पालिटीशियन की गैदरिंग है! जो चन्द दिन के लिये आते हैं—फिर चले जाते हैं! अगर आप का मुद्दा यह है, कि आज़ादी जो कल एलान की गई है, हासिल हो तो इस में ऐसे लोगों को आना चाहिये, जिन को यह ख्याल न हो सके कि काम से छुट्टी होती है या नहीं। यहां तो आने वाले वह होंगे जो अपना वक्त कांग्रेस के लिये देंगे। तो यह कहना कि छुट्टी नहीं मिलेगी खूबसूरत नहीं मालूम होता।

दूसरा एतराज़ यह है कि अमीरों को सर्दी लगती है ग़रीबों को नहीं। मैं इस को ठीक नहीं समझता। अमीर गर्म कपड़ा पहन सकते हैं। वह एलेक्ट्रिक हीटर रक्ख सकते हैं उनके पास हर तरह का सामान मौजूद हो सकता है। मगर ग़रीब की मुश्किल है न उसके पास कपड़ा है न हीटर। तो यह कहना कि ग़रीब को सर्दी की तकलीफ़ नहीं—ठीक नहीं मालूम होता। महात्मा जी कहते हैं कि २० आदमी सर्दी से बीमार हो गये। ऐसे आदमियों को तकलीफ़ देना कांग्रेस को ज़ेबा नहीं देता, जब कि यह कहा जाता है कि मज़दूर और किसानों को बड़ी तादाद में आने देना चाहिये।

और आप जानते हैं रिसेप्शन कमेटी को कितना ख़र्च करना पड़ता है। यहां पंडाल, तम्बू और अंगिठी की ज़रूरत न होती अगर फ़रवरी या मार्च में कांग्रेस होती। हम गर्मी में मैदान में खुली मीटिंग कर सकते हैं, अंगीठी और शामियाना मुहैया करने की ज़रूरत न होगी।

मैं आप से दरख्वास्त करूँगा कि यह रिज़ोल्यूशन जो ग़रीबों की बहबूदी का ख्याल करके रक्खा गया है उन के लिये पास करेंगे।

अब मुझे सिर्फ़ तालिब इल्मों के लिये कहना है। कहा जाता है वह नहीं आ सकते। मैं कहूँगा कि क्या भगतसिंह और दत्त ने छुट्टी मांगी थी कि हम को छुट्टी दे दीजिये तो हम अपना काम करें! जिस को काम करना है वह वक्त निकाल लेता है। वालेंटियरों की कमी नहीं रहती।

इस के बाद बाबा गुरुदित्तसिंह जी आये।

बाबा गुरुदित्त सिंह का भाषण

बाबू गुरुदित्त सिंह जी ने कहा :—"प्रधान साहब, भाइयो और बहिनो। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मार्च महीने में इस कांग्रेस का इजलास करने की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं। क्योंकि उस वक्त हम गरीब लोग खेती काटते हैं। दूसरे उस वक्त कई किस्म की बीमारी पड़ती है। प्लेग फैलता है—हेज़ा फैलता है। दूसरे यह है कि हम नहीं चाहते कि रेलवे को ज़्यादा रुपया दिया जाय। इसलिये इस की बिलकुल ज़रूरत नहीं है—इसे नहीं करना चाहिये।

आप यह क्यों करते हैं! एक या दो वर्ष में यह कांग्रेस किसानों और मज़दूरों की होने वाली है। वह खुद सोच लेंगे कि रेलवे को ज़्यादा किराया नहीं देना चाहिये। कालेज और स्कूलों के नवजवान मार्च और फरवरी में नहीं आना चाहेंगे। ऐसे मौके को नहीं छोड़ना चाहिये। अब कराची में अगले साल कांग्रेस होने वाली है—वहाँ

सर्दी नहीं पड़ती किसी का डर मत रखना, डर कर राय मत देना। आप तगड़े होकर राय देंगे।" "हज़रात बात यह है कि प्रधान साहब गरीबों पर एहसान नहीं कर रहे हैं—यह कहते कि अमीरों से सर्दी नहीं सही जाती तो ठीक होता गरीबों को इस सर्दी से कुछ नहीं"। (हास्य ध्वनि)

एक सज्जन का कथन

बीच में इसके बाद एक सज्जन ने कहा। जनाब मैं अपने ख्यालात रखना चाहता हूँ—इस प्रस्ताव से वकील और दूसरे लोग आप से जुदा हो जायेंगे। मैं महात्मा जी से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि जिनका दिल आपके साथ है उनको आप न निकालें। अपने आगे ही रखा था कि डेलीगेट की तादाद कम की जाय और आलइन्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी ने उसे मंजूर नहीं किया। तो क्या अब यह दूसरा तरीका सोचा गया है कि ऐसे वक्त में कांग्रेस की जाय कि लोग कम हो जायें ?

एक और सज्जन उठे—मगर प्रधान जी ने रोक दिया। और डाक्टर सत्यपाल से इस प्रस्ताव पर भाषण करने को कहा।

इसके पश्चात् श्री पं नेकीराम शर्मा आये

पं० नेकीराम शर्म्मा का भाषण

श्री पंडित नेकीराम शर्मा ने कहा :—"प्रधान जी और भाइयो ! इस प्रस्ताव पर मेरा एतराज़ होने से इतना झगड़ा चला जो प्रधान जी

की तरफ़ से हुआ मुझे इस का दुःख है। परन्तु क्या करूँ जब कि आत्मा नहीं मानता और दलील जो दी गई समझ में नहीं आती और मैंने सोचा कि इस प्रस्ताव के पास होजाने से बहुत से लोग कांग्रेस में नहीं आसकेंगे तो आवाज़ ऊंची करनी पड़ी।

४४ वर्ष से कांग्रेस इन्हीं दिनों में कामयाब होती आई है और खूब रौनक़ रहती है। तो आज क्या बात होगई है ! कहते हैं कि क्रिस्मस को छोड़ दो इस लिये कि सर्दी पड़ती है। अभी २ मेरे लायक़ बजुर्ग बाबा गुरुदत्तसिंह जी ने इस का जवाब दे दिया है। सर्दी के लिये दो या तीन प्रोविन्स ही विशेष हैं—पंजाब, यू. पी. और सिन्ध। दूसरे प्राविन्स नहीं। मैं पूछता हूँ कि ठंडे से ठंडा मुल्क पंजाब है। आप रावी के किनारे पड़े हुए हैं। हम में कितने ग़रीब आदमी भी हैं। लेकिन कितने बीमार पड़े हैं ? इतने ही कलकत्ते में भी बीमार थे। "एक आवाज़ २० आदमी सिन्ध के पड़े हैं"।

बहुत अच्छा अगर आप को इस की खबर है। और अगर आप समझते हैं कि रिसेप्शन कमेटी को सर्दी में बहुत इन्तिज़ाम करना पड़ता है हीटर और तम्बू लगाना पड़ता है। याद रखिये फ़रवरी और मार्च में उसे पंखा लगाना पड़ेगा। अगर यहां आप को निमोनिया का डर है तो कितने ऐसे प्राविन्स हैं जहां कालरा का डर होगा। फ़सल की बात यह है कि मार्च में फ़सल बिलकुल तैयार हो जाती है। आज कल दिसम्बर के मास में शादी का ज़ोर नहीं होता फ़रवरी और मार्च में शादियों का ज़ोर होता है। वालंटियरों की कमी होगी। इस लिये आप इन तारीखों को हर्गिज़ न बदलें।

इस के पश्चात् ज़फ़रअली ख़ां साहब आये।

श्री ज़फ़रअली ख़ां का भाषण

श्री ज़फ़रअली खां ने कहा :—"मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि जो इतना मामूली रिज़ोल्यूशन है उस पर इस क़दर शोर क्यों मचाया जा रहा है तालिबइल्मों की तरफ़ से और किसानों की तरफ़ से। मैं तालिबइल्म हूँ और किसान भी हूं (हास्य ध्वनि) और दोनों की मुश्किलात का अन्दाज़ा कर सकता हूँ। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि तालिबइल्म जब आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तान में होंगे तो कल उन्हें हुक्म दिया जायगा कि कालेज को छोड़ कर बाहर निकल आओ तो उन्हें निकलना पड़ेगा। तो उन्हें हुक्म दिया जाता है कि जनवरी में आओ, फ़रवरी में आओ या मार्च में आओ। जब कहा जायेगा वह आएंगे। (हास्य ध्वनि)

इस के बाद श्री मलिक लालख़ां आये।

श्री मलिक लाल ख़ां का भाषण

श्री मलिक लाल ख़ां ने कहा :—"मेरे डेलीगेट भाइयो, यह तजवीज़ जो वक्त बदलने के लिये पेश की गयी है"

ज़फ़र अली ख़ां "खद्दर पहने बिना राय दे रहे हैं"।

मलिक लाल ख़ां साहब ने कहा "मलिक लाल के सिवा दूसरा कौन है जो खद्दर पहन कर राय देता हो?"—व्याख्यान को प्रारंभ रखते हुए वह बोले: "तालिबइल्म कालेज को छोड़ कर आप के हुक्म से आप के साथ होजायेंगे। मुझे इस का यक़ीन नहीं है।

मैं आप से बड़े अदब से कहना चहता हूँ कि मैं वह किसान हूँ जो अपने हाथ से हल चलाता हूँ। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि अगर आप

आप यह फ़ैसला करते हैं कि दिसम्बर के बजाय फ़रवरी और मार्च में कांग्रेस रखदी जाय तो इस सूबे में फ़ीसदी ८२ ऐसे लोग हैं जो खेती करते हैं—अगर उन के लिये ख्याल है तो आप याद रक्खें वह बहुत ही कम आएंगे।

कांग्रेस का गाँवों में शोर होजायगा। कुछ ज़मींदार हिस्सा ले रहे हैं। आज जो एलान आप ने किया है उन के लिये पहले ज़रूरत हम को होगी जब अपने मुल्क में यह कहा जायगा कि डेलीगेट कैसे बना करते हैं—किस तरह इस गवर्नमेन्ट का मुक़ाबला करना है। किसान को न गरमी सताती है और न सर्दी—न उन को निमोनिया ही होता है। आप मेरे इस कहने का ख्याल करके दिसम्बर की तारीख़ को न बदलें। आज कल ज़मीदारों को फ़ुरसत होती है। उस वक्त फ़ुरसत नहीं होती—उन की खेती तैयार होती है। मशहूर है कि किसान की ज़मीन काश्त के लिये तैयार हो तो वह और काम नहीं करेगा। मशहूर है कि एक किसान की वाल्दा मर गयी—खेत काश्त के लिये तैयार था—उस ने कहा इस वक्त यहीं मिट्टी में वाल्दा को रखदो ज़मीन की नमी बनी रहेगी—(हास्य ध्वनि)—इस लिये महरबानी करके यह तारीख़ न बदलें।"

अब इस के पश्चात् श्री राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने प्रस्ताव पर राय ली और उस से पूर्व कहा कि अभी मेडिकल आफ़िसर साहब यह कहते हैं कि अब तक १७०० बीमार पड़ चुके हैं—सर्दी की वजह से..........यह इत्तला दे रहे हैं। अब मैं आप की राय लेना चाहता हूँ।

राय लेने पर प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में ७५४ विरुद्ध ४२८ राय हुई प्रस्ताव पास हुआ।

इन्डियनस्टेटस के सम्बन्ध में

तत्पश्चात् इन्डियनस्टेटस के सम्बन्ध में श्री मणीलाल कोठारी साहब ने एक प्रस्ताव रखा।

श्री मणिलाल कोठारी का भाषण

श्री मणीलाल कोठारी ने कहा—जो प्रस्ताव आप के सामने पेश करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ वह मैं आप को पढ़ देता हूं (प्रस्ताव अंग्रेज़ी में पढ़ा) जो कुछ मैं इस पर कहना चाहता हूँ वह अपनी टूटी फूटी हिन्दी में कहूँगा। यदि इस में कोई ग़लती हो तो क्षमा करें।

यह रिज़ोल्यूशन जो मैंने आप के सामने रक्खा है वह आप हिन्दी में अच्छी तरह समझ सकते हैं। मद्रास की कांग्रेस में, कलकत्ते की कांग्रेस में जो प्रस्ताव आप ने देशी रियास्तों के लिये किया था उसमें आपने सब राजा महाराजाओं से दरख्वास्त की थी कि वह अपनी रियास्तों में अधिकार पूर्ण शासन जारी करें। लेकिन अब तक किसी रियासत में जवाब दार राजतन्त्र दाखिल नहीं हुआ। बड़े खेद की बात है।

आज इस कांग्रेस से जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया जाता है उस में यह लिखा है और वह यह कहना चाहता है कि अब वक्त आगया है कि हमारे राजा महाराजाओं को यह समय समझ कर जागृति को देख कर, राष्ट्र भावना सारे राष्ट्र में कैसी है यह ख्याल करके, जल्दी अपनी रियासत में जवाबदार राजतन्त्र दाखिल करना चाहिये। आज कल २५ करोड़ का हिन्दुस्तान आज़ादी के लिये कटिबद्ध हो गया है और

भगवान की कृपा से थोड़े अर्से में प्रयत्न के प्रभाव से पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त कर लेगा। ऐसी अवस्था में ७ करोड़ का हिन्दुस्तान निकृष्ट अवस्था में नहीं रहेगा।

मैं एक देशी रियासत का आदमी हूँ। वैसे तो मैं अंग्रेज़ी हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत दिनों से रहता हूँ (और थोड़ी बहुत सेवा कर रहा हूँ) मैं अनुभव से आप को कह सकता हूँ कि देशी रियास्तों में जनता सारी मौजूदा स्थिति से क़ायल हो गई है। आज देशी रियास्तों में जो शासन चल रहा है वह कैसा है आप जानते हैं? ट्रावनकोर, मैसूर और कोचीन जैसी दो चार रियास्तों को छोड़ दीजिये दूसरी रियास्तों को छोड़ दीजिये—दूसरी रियास्तें पंजाब, काठियावाड़, गुजरात में हैं जहां एक हाथ शासन चल रहा है। वहां राजा और उस का शासन प्रजा के लिए जवाबदार नहीं है। लाखों करोड़ों रुपये की आमदनी होती है। उसके व्यवस्था और खर्च में कोई अधिकार जनता का नहीं है। बदक़िस्मती यह है कि हमारे सारे वह राजे महाराजे राज्य की आमदनी को खानगी सम्पत्ति समझते हैं। करोड़ों रुपये का खर्च होता है और भोग विलास में, जनता के हित की छोटी मोटी बातों के लिये जो जनता को मिलना चाहिये भूल जाता है—नहीं मिलता। सारी रियासतों में जो किसानों को दुःख देख पड़ता है आप को सुनाया जाय तो भी आप को बड़ा दुःख होगा। उन के वर्णन करने का मौक़ा नहीं है। तो मैं संक्षेप में कहना चाहता हूँ कि ग़रीब किसान बहुत दुःखी हैं। वह सर्दी में धूप में बारिस में रात दिन महनत करके जो कुछ पैदा

करते हैं उस का उपयोग राजा महाराजा अपने भोग विलास के लिये करते हैं किसान को कोई लाभ जो उस से मिलना चाहिये नहीं मिलता। वह बेचारे बड़े दुःखी हैं। तो हमारा कहना यह है कि ऐसी हालात बिलकुल खराब है और नहीं रहनी चाहिये।

दूसरी बात यह है कि जिस शासन प्रणाली में जान माल के हिफ़ाज़त नहीं—जबान की आज़ादी नहीं, मैं कोई उदाहरण Instance नहीं देता ऐसे भी राज्य हैं कि जिधर आज हम सादे कागज़ या टाईप राईटर नहीं ले जा सकते, नहीं रख सकते। हमें प्रमाणपत्र से सत्य मालूम है। मौजूदा शासन में बुनियादी अख्तियारात जनता में सुरक्षित नहीं है। हमारे अधिकार और हक सुरक्षित होने चाहिये। हमको बोलने का हक होना चाहिये भूलों के बतलाने का हक होना चाहिये। कई रियासतें हैं जहाँ कोई छापाखाना नहीं।..............
........कोई पत्र नहीं निकाल सकते। कई रियासतों में ऐसा है कि जरा सी बात हुई तो वहां रह नहीं सकते। तो कांग्रेस चाहती है कि रियासतों में जबाबदार शासन जारी हो जिसके परिणाम से यह रुकावटें, बाधायें जलदी दूर हो जावें।

मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हुँ। हमारे राजे महाराजे हमारे लेजीटीमेट हक को दबा रखते हैं। कहते हैं स्वतंत्रता जो चाहते हैं वह ठीक नहीं। ३५ करोड़ का हिन्दुस्तान स्वतंत्रता चाहता है तो हम अपनी रियासत में जबाबदार राजतंत्र क्यों दाखिल न करें? हमारी रियासतों के राजामहाराजा बृटिश भारत का स्वराज्य स्थापन के साथ हमदर्दी रखने का दावा करते हैं। लेकिन उसका फल न भारत को है, न हम कुछ अपने लिये ये अच्छा

चिन्ह देखते हैं। आप को मालूम होगा बटलर कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट निकाली—हमारे राजाओं ने करीब १ करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर दिया होगा। हमारे राजाओं ने ताज के साथ सीधा सम्बन्ध प्राप्त करने के लिये और दूसरी ऐसी बेहूदा बातों के लिये १ करोड़ का खर्च कर दिया होगा। पर पैसा गरीब जनता के पसीना का, याने खून का समझना चाहिये। और नतीजा कुछ नहीं निकला। हम कहना चाहते हैं कि अगर इन राजा महाराजाओं को अपना स्थान और हित को सुरक्षित रखना है तो इन को सीधा और साधा सम्बन्ध हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रक्खना चाहिये। इंग्लेण्ड के साथ सीधा सम्बन्ध का कुछ अर्थ नहीं और न उस सम्बन्ध में उनकी सुरक्षिता है। खास कर के ७ करोड़ के साथ सच्चा न्याय पूर्ण सम्बन्ध रख कर रहेंगे। तो ठीक होगा। आप आपत्ति जनक हालत से बचना चाहते हैं तो देस की रिआया का ख्याल रक्खें। हम यह कहते हैं कि यह ख्याल रक्खेंगे तो बराबर पूरे २ सुरक्षित रहेंगे।

भाइयो, मैं आप का ज्यादा वक्त लेना नहीं चाहता। हमारे राजाओं महाराजाओं की ओर से यह दावा होता है कि हम लोग प्रजा के सच्चे और स्वाभाविक नेता हैं। यह दावा मौजूदा हालत में बिलकुल वास्तविक नहीं है। लेकिन जनता के लिये अपनी सर्वशक्ति, रुपया का प्रमाणिक उपयोग कर वह उस के नेता होसकते हैं। हमारे राजे महाराजे प्रजा के सेवक बन कर ज़रूर प्रतिनिधि बन सकते हैं। लेकिन जो दशा है, उस में वह हमारे प्रतिनिधि नहीं हैं।

दूसरी बात यह कि राजा महाराजा आज रियास्तों के सच्चे प्रतिनिधि होने का दावा नहीं कर सकते हैं। राजे महाराजे इस परिस्थिति को

समझेंगे तो इस समय में सुरक्षित रहेंगे। हम राजाओं का या राज का नाश नहीं चाहते। क्योंकि राज्य के अस्तित्व में ऐसा कुछ नहीं है लोग शासन में बाधा करें। लेकिन राज्यों में प्रातिनिधित्व के तत्त्व पर बहुत सुधार करने की आवश्यकता है। यह एलान भी साथ २ करते हैं कि जो राजा प्रजा की सेवा में कटिबद्ध नहीं—प्रजा के धन को सेक्रेडट्रस नहीं समझते उस का कालान्त समझो। उस को पद से वंचित करने का प्रजा का कुदरती हक है। वह चाहे इतना अपने आप को बड़ा समझे उस के लिये स्थिर-स्थान हो नहीं सकता।

भाइयो, इतना कह कर मैं यह प्रस्ताव आप के सामने रखता हूँ। ७ करोड़ के साथ हमदर्दी रखते हैं तो आप इसे मंजूर करेंगे। आप आन्दोलन करेंगे।

इस के पश्चात् इस पर होसंगा कृष्णाराव तथा सत्यमूर्ती के अंग्रेज़ी में भाषण हुए।

तत्पश्चात् श्री मौलिचन्द्र शर्मा आये।

श्री मौलि चन्द्र शर्मा का भाषण

श्री मौलि चन्द्र शर्मा ने कहा:—सभापति जी, बहनों और भाइयो, मैं इसे भारत का सौभाग्य समझता हूँ कि अब कांग्रेस बृटिश भारत के साथ २ भारतीय भारत के लिये भी विचार कर रही है। वास्तव में तो बृटिश भारत और भारतीय भारत का भेद कृत्रिम है। भारत एक ही है। केवल राजनैतिक परीस्थिति के कारण भेद पैदा हुआ और अबतक टिका हुआ है।

बृटिश भारत प्रजा सत्तात्मक स्वराज्य की स्थापना का उद्योग कर

रहा है और चाहता है कि भारतीय भारत की जनता को भी वैसे ही अधिकार प्राप्त हों। परन्तु जहां हम रजवाड़ों की प्रजा के अधिकार चाहते हैं, वहां हम रजवाड़ों से प्रेमभाव रखने में कमी नहीं करते। हमें एक बात समझ रखनी चाहिये कि स्टेटस उस दर्जे को पहले ही पाये हुए हैं जिसे डोमिनियन स्टेटस कहा जाता है। उन्हें अपने राज्य के अन्दर प्रबन्ध का पूरा अधिकार है और इस विषय में देशी राज्यों को वे अधिकार प्राप्त हैं जो बृटिश भारत को प्राप्त नहीं हैं और जिन के लिये वे लड़ रहा है। जहां बृटिश भारत को उस के जन्मसिद्ध अधिकारों से महरूम रक्खा जा रहा है। वहां भारतीय रजवाड़ों से उन के अधिकार छीने जा रहे हैं जो उन्हें सुलहनामों की रूसे प्राप्त हैं। इस प्रकार बृटिश भारत और देशी रजवाड़े दोनों ही गवर्नमेन्ट द्वारा पीड़ित हैं और दोनों का सरकार से झगड़ा है। नीति का वचन है कि शत्रु का शत्रु मित्र हो जाता है, इस कारण बृटिश भारत और रजवाड़ों को सरकार के विरुद्ध अपने अधिकारों के लिये मिल कर काम करना चाहिये। दोनों को चाहिये कि सरकार के अन्यायों के विरुद्ध इकट्ठे हो जांय।

साथ ही नरेशों को यह भी समझ लेना चाहिये कि उनकी सच्ची शक्ति उनकी प्रजा ही है। सरकार नहीं। अपनी प्रजा को अधिकार देकर सुखी करके ही वह बलवान और सुखी हो सकते हैं।

यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि अनेक समझदार और ज़िम्मेवार मुखिया नरेशों के प्रस्तावित राउण्डटेबल—कान्फ़्रेंस के विषय में अपना अपना मत प्रकट करते हुए कहा है कि वह चाहते हैं कि बृटिश भारत

को डोमिनियन स्टेटस शीघ्र प्राप्त हो। वह दूरदर्शिता पूर्ण नीति है। अब यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि रजवाड़े भारतीय स्वराज्य के विरुद्ध हैं। हमें भी चाहिये कि ऐतिहासिक सम्बन्ध और प्रेम के नाते तथा नीति को देखते हुए भी उनकी विपत्तियों में हम उनकी सहायता करें। आखिर वह भी भारतवासी हैं और भारत माता से उन्हें भी हमारी तरह प्रेम है। उनके सुलहनामों के अधिकार रक्षित रखने में तथा भारत में स्वराज्य स्थापित कराने में हमें एक दूसरे की मदद करनी चाहिये और हम दोनों का अन्तिम ध्येय एक सम्मिलित स्वराज्य भोगी विशाल भारत होना चाहिये।

डाक्टर चोयथ राम का निमंत्रण सम्बन्धी भाषण

"मेहरबान प्रेज़ीडन्ट साहब, भाइयो और बहिनों, मैं सिंध प्रान्त की तरफ़ से अगले साल कांग्रेस का इजलास करने के लिये निमंत्रण देता हूँ। मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप लोग कराची में पधारेंगे। कराची आप को मालूम है कि आज कल का एक मुख्य बन्दर है (हास्य ध्वनि)—शहर में वहां बरसों से कांग्रेस नहीं हुई। सन् १९१३ में एक दफ़ा हुई थी। अब १५, १६ साल होगये। सब्जेक्टस कमेटी में दावत दीगई थी, वहां मंजूर होगई है। मुझे उम्मीद है आम भाइ भी मंजूर करेंगे" (थपोड़ी—मंजूर २)

इस का समर्थन श्री सिधवा जी ने किया।

श्री सिधवा का निमन्त्रण सम्बन्धी भाषण।

श्री सिधवा ने कहा :—"दोस्तो, आप के सामने जो तजवीज़ मेरे दोस्त डाक्टर चोयथराम ने पेश की है मैं आप भाइयों को कराची में

अगले साल आने की दावत देता हूँ। दोस्तो और भाइयो, मैं करांची के लिये वह किस क़िस्म का शहर है कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। कराची म्युनिस्पैलिटी के कांग्रेस के मैम्बरों ने क्या काम किया है—खादी के फैलाने के लिये यह क्या कर रहे हैं यह मैं आप को दिखलाना चाहता हूँ। आप देखेंगे कि म्युनिस्पैलिटी कराची क्या कर रही है। कराची शहर में हवाई जहाज़ का स्टेशन होगया है। आप देखना चाहेंगे तो देखलीजियेगा। सफ़र करना चाहेंगे तो सफ़र कर लीजियेगा। आप भाइयों को ख़ुशी होगी कि कराची ऐसा ठण्डा नहीं है—आप गरमी की फ़िकर नहीं करेंगे। उम्मीद है आप फ़रवरी महीने में ख़ुशी से अपने घर वापस आवेंगे।"

मंजूर है ! "मंजूर २ की ध्वनि"

बाहर के संवाद

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कहा :—"अब दो एक बाहर के मैसेज़ आये हुए हैं। आप को नये सेक्रेट्री पढ़ कर सुना देंगे।"

श्री प्रकाश जी ने संवाद पढ़े—सन फ्रान्सिसको, पोर्ट आफ़ स्पेन, ट्रीनीडाड कैलीफ़ोर्नियां आदि से संवाद आये थे।

श्रीमती सरोजिनी देवी का भाषण

इस के बाद श्रीमती सरोजिनी देवी मंच पर आई ? उन के आते ही जय २ घोष हुआ। श्रीमती सरोजिनी देवी ने कहा :—

"हाज़रीन मेरा इरादा था कि मैं इस कांग्रेस के इजलास में बिल्कुल ख़ामोश रहूँ इस लिये कि मैं दूर देश में जाकर पैग़ाम पहुँचाती हूँ—मेरा हक है कि मुझे घर पर ख़ामोश रहने की इजाज़त मिल

जाय। लेकिन चूँकि मुझे यह फ़रमान मिल चुका है उस ज़ालिम की तरफ़ से जो मेरे बाप की जगह है—पंडित मोती लाल जी का हुकम है—एक खुशगवार काम के लिये खड़ी हुई हूँ कि रिसेप्शन कमेटी और वालंटियरों की तारीफ़ करूँ। फसाहत और लागत की ज़रूरत नहीं है। मैं सयासी ज़बान को नहीं जानती। दिल की आवाज़ को मैं जानती हूँ।

आप की तरफ़ से, इस दिल की आवाज़ की तरफ़ से, रिसेप्शन कमेटी के मेम्बरों और वालंटियरों का ख़ास कर उन का जो मर्द नहीं है बल्कि मर्द को पैदा करती हैं, उन का शुक्रिया अदा करती हूँ (जय २ ध्वनि)—यह मौक़ा नहीं है कि बहुत लक्चर दिया जाय—सिर्फ़ एक लफ्ज़ और कहना चाहती हूँ।

आप ने एक रिज़ोल्यूशन बहुत सोच समझ कर पास किया है। वह रिज़ोल्यूशन है जिस को पास करके, जो कदम आप ने बढ़ाया है, उसे आप फिर वापस नहीं ला सकते। हम ने एक बात को अपने दिल में बैठा लिया है—हम इनक़लाब ज़िनदा बाद के खूब शोर मचाते हैं—मगर मैं आप लोगों को याद दिलाती हूँ कि जब इस कौम को निज़ाम रखने की ताक़त नहीं तो इन्कलाब करना मुमकिन नहीं। (हीयर २)

आज हिन्दुस्तान में एक बात की ज़रूरत है—वह चीज़ हम में नहीं है—वह है निज़ाम, डिसिप्लिन। मैं इस साल बहुत मुल्कों में घूमी। वह मुल्क जो आज़ाद हैं—पुराने मुल्क, जो बिल्कुल आज़ाद हैं, और ऐसे नये मुल्कों में भी घूमी जो १० वर्ष पहले गुलाम

थे और आज मुकम्मल आज़ाद हैं। मैंने देखा कि हर जगह डिसिप्लिन थी। मुझे अपने मुल्क में डिसिप्लिन की कमी दिखलाई पड़ती है। मैं इसी लिये तक़रीर करना नहीं चाहती थी मैं समझती हूँ कि हम में ऐसे भी लोग हैं जो महसूस नहीं करेंगे कि इस रिज़ोल्यूशन का मतलब क्या है ? आप इकट्ठे होकर भारत माता की जय बोलेंगे—अपने २ प्रान्त में जाकर भूल जायेंगे और गुलामी का तरीक़ा जारी रखेंगे तो मैं पूछती हूँ आप ने कल क्या किया ? अगर उस पर आप अमल करने वाले हैं—उस पर इरादा रखते हैं, और निज़ाम है, तो इस आज़ादी के रिज़ोल्यूशन को लेकर खुद प्रचार करें।

आप आज़ादी की तसवीर बनो, सदाक़त की तसवीर बनो। अगर आप को इस का इरादा है। तो मैं रिसेप्शन कमेटी के मेम्बरों का और वालंटियरों का और साथ २ आप लोगों का शुक्रिया अदा करती हूँ। आप पंडित जवाहर लाल से यह प्रतिज्ञा करें कि हम अपने उसूलों को, इरादों को बाद से नहीं, बल्कि अपने अमल से पूरा करके दिखायेंगे। मैं उम्मीद करती हूँ कि आप इस तजवीज़ को जोश के साथ मंजूर करेंगे"। (अंग्रेजी २)

आप ने अंग्रेजी में भी भाषण किया।

इस के पश्चात् श्री डा० किचलू साहब स्वगताध्यक्ष मंच पर धन्यवाद देने आये।

श्री डाक्टर किचलू का भाषण

श्री डाक्टर किचलू ने कहा :—"हज़रात यह हमारे खुशगवार फ़र्ज़ हैं कि मैं रिसेप्शन कमेटी की तरफ से आप भाइयों और बहिनों का शुक्रिया अदा करूँ ! ज़ाहिर है कि बहैसियत चेयरमैन रिसेप्शन कमेटी, मैं यह नहीं चाहता और न रिसेप्शन कमेटी के मेम्बरान की और वालंटियरों की यह ख्वाहिश है कि किसी किस्म की तारीफ़ रिसेप्शन कमेटी की की जाय। यह तो आप भाइयों का काम है। हमारा काम सिर्फ़ सेवा करना था। और इसका हम को बड़ा रंज है कि जिस तरीके से हम चाहते थे आप भाइयों और बहिनों की खिदमत नहीं हो सकी। मैं आप भाइयों और बहिनों का ज़रूर शुक्रिया करूँगा कि आप ने इतनी तकलीफ उठाई। यह शायद कानूने कुदरत के खिलाफ़ है कि यह ज़माना पंजाब के लिये बड़ी सर्दी का ज़माना होता है। और आपके दो चार रोज़ आने से पहले आप को मालूम नहीं इस जगह यह हालत थी कि बारिश के मारे काम करने वालों को बड़ी भारी तकलीफ़ का सामना करना पड़ा। आप लोगों की दुआ का यह असर हुआ कि बारिश थम गया—सूरज निकल आया। एक तरफ़ से मौसिम का सूरज दूसरी तरफ से हिन्दुस्तान का मुकम्मल आज़ादी का सूरज निकल आया। और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस आखिरी सूरज की रोशनी के सबब से आप ने हमारी गलतियों को माफ़ कर दिया होगा। (जय २ ध्वनि)

मैं किसी खास ओहदेदार का, कारकुन का शुक्रिया अदा करना नहीं चाहता। रिसेप्शन कमेटी के तमाम मेम्बरों का, भाइयों और बहिनों

की शुक्रिया अदा कर दिया जाय। लेकिन एक बात ज़रूर कहूँगा कि हमारी बच्चियों और बहिनों ने जो वालंटियर की हैसियत से काम कर रही हैं आप को मालूम नहीं है कि बरसते पानी में और ज़बरदस्त सर्दी के ज़माने में किस तरह रात दिन आपकी सेवा के लिये अपने को तैयार किया। आपको शायद मालूम नहीं कि मेरी बहिन लज्जावती जी खुद एक खतरनाक बिमारी में मुब्तला हैं और उन्हें बड़े आराम की ज़रूरत है। बावजूद डाक्टरों के मना करने पर वह लड़कियों को साथ लेकर आपकी सेवा करने के लिये हाज़िर रही है। आप अगर इजाज़त दें तो मैं आप की तरफ से, अपनी तरफ से, सब साहबां की तरफ से इन बहिनों और बच्चियों का शुक्रिया अदा करूँ।

मैं इसी तरह जो नवजवान वालंटियर पञ्जाब के मुख्तालिफ़ हिस्सों से आये हैं उन का शुक्रिया करना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन एक बात ज़रूर अर्ज़ करूँगा कि ये वालंटियर काफ़ी अर्से के लिये इकट्ठे नहीं हो सकते थे। इस लिये उन की ट्रेनिंग में कमी रह सकती थी—बाज़ बच्चों की ट्रेनिंग में नुक़्स बाक़ी रह गया होगा। इस लिये अगर उन में से किसी से कुछ ज़्यादती हुई हो तो माफ़ करेंगे। इन वालंटियरों ने रात दिन एक कर दिया और आप की सेवा में हमेशा कमर बांधे रहे। आप ने इन वालंटियरों को भाइयों और बहिनों को कल रात नहीं देखा! उन को अपनी मेहनत का फल कल रात मिल गया! जब आप इण्डियेन्डेन्स का रिज़ोल्यूशन पास कर रहे थे—बाहर आप इन्तिज़ार कर रहे थे कि घंटा बजे तो डोमीनियन स्टेटस के पुरज़े को फाड़ कर रावी में डालकर आज़ादी के झंडे को लेकर बाहर खड़े होंगे। ऐसा मौक़ा हम में से

बहुतेरे भाई चूक गये। वालंटियरों ने सलाह करली थी और उन्होंने जवाहरलाल को गिरिफ़्तार करके १२ बजे के दर्मियान झंडे की सेरीमनी की। मेरे भाई जवाहरलाल नये क़िस्म के प्रधान हैं। पहले प्रधान माफ़ करें वह उम्र की वजह से—तजरबे की वजह से—सिन की वजह से ज़रा दूर रहते हैं—हिलना मिलना ज़रूरी नहीं समझते। लेकिन यह और क़िस्म के प्रधान हैं। इन्हें मैं बचपन से जानता हूँ। साथ साथ रहे हैं। नवजवानों में नवजवान हैं—बच्चों में बच्चे और बूढ़ों में बूढ़े हैं। रात को इन्होंने क्या किया! झंडे की सेरीमनी के बाद, इन्होंने मुझे भी धोका दिया! यह रात को वालंटियरों के साथ वालंटियरों के कैम्प में गये। वहां खुद भी नाचा और उन्हें भी नचाया और (हर्ष की हास्य ध्वनि) (थपोड़ी और करतल ध्वनि) आज़ादी का गान गाया और हमारे वालंटियरों को भी गाने का हुक्म दिया यह ठीक ही है, क्योंकि आज हिन्दुस्तान की बृटिश कनेकशन को दूर करने के लिये तैयारी के काम का सामना है। १२ बजे के बाद सब से पहले आज़ादी का झंडा बुलन्द करने वाले वही लोग होंगे जो मुकम्मल आज़ादी को हासिल करने वाले हैं। जो वालंटियर सेवा दल के हैं जिन्होंने आपकी खिदमत की है।

बाज़ लोग कहते थे कि यहां तोप लगायी जायगी। बन्दूक लगाई जायगी न मालूम क्या २ बला और आफ़त आयगी कोशिश यह की गई कि गाँव गाँव फिर कर मुखालिफों ने सभी (mean) तरीकों से लोगों को रोकने की कोशिश की। लेकिन आपने देखा कि न यहाँ कोई बम्ब का गोला फूटा न आपकी जेब से निकला! (हास्य ध्वनि)

मुझे बहुत सन्देह था कि हमारे बज़ुर्ग वाइसराय से मुलाकात करके आये थे—मगर वह भी कोई ऐसा गोला नहीं लाये। (हास्य ध्वनि)—खैर, ऐसा तो हुआ कि विलायत में डोमीनियन स्टेटस का गोला फूट गया। मुख़ालिफ़ों के हौसले पस्त पड़ गये। वह देखते हैं कि हिन्दू, सिख इस कसरत से शामिल हुए हैं।

वालंटियरों का ज़िक्र चल रहा था। कहा जाता था कि मुसलमान वालंटियर नहीं मिलेंगे। लेकिन आप देखते हैं कि लाहौर के बाहर के कितने मुसलमान वालंटियर पिराडी, मुलतान और दूसरी जगहों से आये हैं।

एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। इस कांग्रेस से आपको एक आवाज़ उठानी है। आपने अपना एक मंज़र बनाया है—और आपका फ़र्ज़ है कि आप पैग़ाम लेकर हिन्दुस्तान के कोने २ में उस पैग़ाम को पहुँचा दें, कि आज के दिन के बाद हिन्दुस्तान मुकम्मल आज़ाद होकर ही रहेगा—बृटिश इम्पायर के साथ कोई समझौता नहीं हो सकता। हम अपने हक के लिये लड़ रहे हैं। हमारा स्टेटस वैसा ही है जैसा दूसरों का। हमारा जंग सेलफिश नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान को आज़ाद करना चाहते हैं, इस वास्ते नहीं कि हम भी मज़बूत बनकर औरों से लड़ें। हम अपनी आज़ादी के लिये लड़ना चाहते हैं। इस वास्ते कि हमारी आज़ादी के अन्दर दुनिया की आज़ादी होती है। तमाम मशरिक आज़ाद होता है। मग़रिब की तमाम मज़लूम कौमें भी आज़ाद होती हैं। आप हिन्दुस्तान के कोने २ में जायेंगे आप लोगों को बतायेंगे कि प्रोग्राम क्या है? अपनी गवर्नमेंट कैसा बनायेगी। महात्मा जी आलइन्डिया कांग्रेस

कमेटी में काम का फैसला करेंगे। महात्मा जी सत्याग्रह करने पर मजबूर होंगे।

इन्डिपेन्डन्स के डिक्लेरेशन के यह मानी हैं कि सब सदाकत के साथ काम करेंगे। आपको जेल में भेजा जावेगा—आप का ज़रोमाल नीलाम किया जायेगा—आप को तरह २ की तखलीफें दी जायेंगी। गवर्नमेन्ट चुप नहीं बैठेगी। वह मौका देखेगी। एक आदमी के काम खराब करने से हमारा सारा काम खराब हो जायगा—वह तुमको इश्तेआल देगी—तुम्हें जोश दिलाया जायगा। खाली बायकाट से काम नहीं चलेगा। एक रिज़ोल्यूशन नहीं प्रोग्राम चाहिये। वह सिर्फ कानून तोड़ने के लफ्ज़ से नहीं—बल्कि एक ऐसा प्रोग्राम जो तमाम लोगों के दिल व दिमाग पर कब्ज़ा करलें। और जिस में नवजवानों को साथ लेकर खड़े हो जायेंगे। अगर आज हमारे सरदार महात्मा जी पीछे बैठ जायं तो और आदमी उन की जगह पूरी करने को आजायेंगे। और हालत को ठीक रक्खेंगे। लेकिन इन्डिपेन्डन्स का एलान रुकेगा नहीं। यह बीज बोया जा चुका है। उसमें एक पत्ता भी लग चुका है। उसके साथ शाख भी फूट रही है। टहनी सबज़ निकल रही है—वह जल्दी ही दरख्त बनने वाला है। उस में फल लगाने वाला एक शख्स चाहिये। इस वास्ते मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आपस के झगड़ों को छोड़ कर सारा अख्तियार एक शख्स को दे दो। लेकिन अगर यह कहो कि वह शख्स नानवाइलेन्स कहेगा तो नहीं मानेंगे—तो यह तो झगड़े की बात होगी।

हिन्दुस्तान में ६६ फी सदी नानवाइलेन्स और वाइलेन्स को एक सी चीज़ समझते हैं। हमारा बहस नानवाइलेन्स और वाइलेन्स का नहीं हैं। हालत बतला रही है, तजरबा बतला रहा है, बाहरी हालत बतला रही है, कि इस वक्त वाइलेन्स से काम नहीं हो सकता। इसलिये ज़रूरी है कि हम उस प्रोग्राम पर चलें जो १६२१ में बड़े ज़ोर से शुरू किया गया था। मैं महात्मा जी का मज़ाक़ नहीं करूँगा—अगर महात्मा जी को सरदार मानता हूँ। तो एक सिपाही की तरह उन का हुक्म मानूंगा। अगर वे कहेंगे कि नानवाइलेन्स तो नानवाइलेन्स रहूंगा। मैं महात्मा जी की सरदारी कबूल करता हूँ। तो सरदारी में यह डिसिप्लिन भी कबूल करता हूँ। लेकिन अगर आप साथ नहीं देंगे—नानवाइलेन्स नहीं मानेंगे तो काम नहीं होगा। अगर आप यह ठीक समझते हैं तो आप वाइलेन्स और नानवाइलेन्स का ख्याल न करें। जो फ़िज़ा पैदा है उसका इस्तेमाल करें।

मेरे दोस्तो, मैं वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। मैं अपने कारकुनों से एक अपील करता हूँ। इस वक्त एक बड़ी जमात है, जो अमूमन कांग्रेस में हिस्सा नहीं ले रही है। कुछ थोड़े अर्से से लेना शुरु किया है। वह जमात है जो आइन्दा हकूमत की अगुआ है। वह हमारे किसान मज़दूर भाई हैं। वह ६० फीसदी से .ज्यादा हैं—उन्हें अब हम भूल नहीं सकते। आप समझते हैं तो उन गरीब भाइयों की सेवा करें। वह आयें और हिस्सा लें—आइन्दा हुकूमत कैसी होनी चाहिये इसका फैसला करें। क्योंकि आइन्दा हकूमत इन्हीं की तो है। लेबर और पेज़ेन्ट आप में कम शामिल होते हैं—अगर उनसे काम न लिया

जायगा तो जो रिज़ोल्यूशन आपने पास किया है उसका कुछ नतीजा नहीं! मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि हमारे रहनुमा लीडर साहबान हक़ीक़त को सामने रक्ख कर, सच्चे पवित्र रहनुमा बन कर ऐसा प्रोग्राम देंगे ताकि लेबर और पेज़ेन्ट सभी उसमें शामिल होने को तैयार हों। जैसी मासेज़ १९२०, १९२१ में थी। आज उससे कहीं .ज्यादा का मौका है।

वक्त .ज्यादा हो गया था राष्ट्रपति का इशारा पाकर मैंने वक्त .ज्यादा ले लिया है। मैं तो कुछ बोला ही नहीं बैठा २ रहा—हाथ भी उठाने की इजाज़त नहीं थी—(हास्य ध्वनि)।

अब मैं नवजवान भाइयों से कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ—मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे नवजवान भाई कितना काम कर रहे हैं—कितनी कुर्बानी कर रहे हैं। वह एक असूल पर लड़ रहे हैं—वह आज़ादी के लिये जानो माल कुर्बानकर रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं उनसे एक दरख्वास्त करूँगा—अगर वह चाहते हैं कि मासेज़ को आरगेनाइज़ किया जाय तो वह गाली देने से नहीं होगा—पेज़ेन्ट में जाइये—हमारे गांवों को मरकज़ बनाइये। शहरों में जाइये—वहां मज़दूरों में वर्करों में काम कीजिये। महात्मा जी का नानवाइलेन्स का प्रोग्राम मानते हैं, तो उसके अन्दर आकर काम कीजिये। नानवाइलेन्स का प्रोग्राम कामयाब होगा। न हो तो आप नवजवानों को मालूम है आपको मौका दिया जायगा कि आप काम करें। इस वक्त तो हाथ लगा कर महात्मा जी के साथ २ मिल कर काम करने को तैयार हो जांय। लफ्ज़ी बहस छोड़ दो।

अब मैं फिर एक बार आप भाइयों और बहिनों का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। १९१९ में कांग्रेस अमृतसर पंजाब में हुई थी—१० वर्ष

बाद फिर लाहौर में हुई है। लेकिन जहां तक अहमियत का तालुक यह अहम है। इसके बाद जो कांग्रेस होने वाली है—यह कराची में होगी—कराची मुझे बहुत प्यारा है—वहीं मुझे २ साल मिले थे। (हास्य ध्वनि)—नेक्स्टयीर होगा, हम पूरी हकूमत अपने हाथ में लेकर वहां अपनी कांग्रेस करेंगे।

मैं आप भाइयों और बहिनों का तहे दिल से शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ—गलतियों और नुक्सों के लिये हाथ जोड़ कर माफी मांगता हूँ—माफ करें।"

इस के पश्चात् राष्ट्रपति ने अपना भाषण दिया।

पंडित जवाहरलाल जी का अंतिम भाषण

राष्ट्रपति पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने कहा—"भाइयो और बहिनों, चार रोज़ से बराबर मैं आपके सामने पेश हुआ हूँ। फिर हाज़िर हुआ हूँ। हालांकि मैं जानता हूँ आप के कान थक गये होंगे। फिर भी कुछ बर्दाश्त आप और भी करेंगे।

इन चार रोज़ों में आपने क्या किया ? क्या उसका नतीजा होगा यह तो आयन्दा के हालात से मालूम होगा। अभी हम कांग्रेस से बाहर निकले भी नहीं हैं। जो आपने आज़ादी की आवाज़ ज़ोर से दी थी दुनियां भर में गूँज उठी। और वापस आकर हमारे पास पहुँची—जहाँ २ पहुँची है, वहाँ २ हमारा सर ऊँचा हुआ, आज की दुनियाँ आपको मुबारकबाद दे रही है। लेकिन याद रखिये कि आप ने आज तो सिर्फ सही रास्ते पर कदम रक्खा है। और

सही मक़सद को निगाह से देख रहे हैं। रास्ता आपके सामने है, सही है—लेकिन काम तकलीफ़ देह है। यह अच्छी बात है कि आप ठीक देख रहे हैं। और ठीक चल रहे हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि कामयाबी कितनी देर में होगी। मुझे सिर्फ यह खुशी है कि ऐसे मौके पर ऐसे रास्ते पर चलने का मौका मिला है। और आप में से जो ज़्यादा बजुर्ग हैं, उम्र में नहीं, दिल में, वह खुद महसूस कर रहे होंगे, कि आप को ऐसा मौका मिल गया कि एक आज़ादी के सिपाही बन कर मुल्क की आज़ादी की लड़ाई में शरीक होंगे।

मैं इस वक्त बहुत ज़्यादा कहना नहीं चाहता। सिर्फ़ इतना कहूँगा कि चन्द मिन्ट में जब कि इस कांग्रेस का खातमा होने वाला है, यह हिन्दुस्तान की ही नहीं बल्कि और और मुल्कों की निगाह अपनी तरफ़ खींच रहा है। हम जो इस वक्त अपने फ़ैसले से खुश हुए हैं, उसकी उन्हें ख़बर है। आपको मालूम है हमारे फ़ैसले से हम में से ही बहुत से नाराज़गी का इज़हार करते हैं। जिन बजुर्गों ने नाराजगी का इज़हार किया है, वह कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस का मुक़ाबला करेंगे। ख़ैर मुक़ाबला करेंगे तो रंज होगा। अपने ही भाई करें तो रंज होता है। और सच तो यह है कि कांग्रेस हलके हलके ऐसे रास्ते पर आरही है कि खुद लोग यह अन्दाज़ा लगा लेंगे कि कौन लोग मुल्क की आज़ादी चाहते हैं, कौन लोग नहीं। अब तक तो ज़ाहिर है कि कुछ लोग एक तरफ़ जाने को कहते हैं तो दूसरे दूसरी तरफ़। कुछ लोग दायें जाते हैं, तो कुछ लोग बाएं। बहुत से लोग हलके हलके दूर जा रहे हैं। और ज़ाहिर है कि जो लोग कांग्रेस को एक तरफ़ ले जाना चाहते हैं

ले जांय। बाज़ लोग तो मुझे हैरत है, दुनियां की आज़ादी की लड़ाई से कोई सबक नहीं सीखते। हर एक को यह हक़ होता है कि एक डिसिप्लिन तरीके पर अपने अक़ीदे पर काम करें। मुझे खुशी है कि कांग्रेस ने ऐसा फ़ैसला किया। मुझे उम्मीद है कि उसका फल मिलेगा।

मैं भी आपके सामने उस शुक्रिया के रिज़ोल्यूशन की ताईद करता हूँ जो श्रीमती सरोजनी नायडू ने पेश किया था। उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप उसे मंज़ूर करेंगे। आप लोग खुद महसूस कर सकते हैं कि किस क़दर कांग्रेस का करना तकलीफ़ देह होता है। १५--२० रोज़ में कितने लाखों को कितनी तकलीफ़ हुई है। खास कर वालंटियरों को देखिये कितनी तकलीफ़ उठानी पड़ी है। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप बड़े ज़ोर से इस रिज़ोल्यूशन की ताईद करेंगे। मैं अलग अलग नाम लेने की ज़रूरत नहीं समझता न मैं खास वालंटियरों का नाम लेना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने जैसे डाक्टर किचलू साहब ने कहा, मुझे गुज़श्ता रात अपनाया। मुझे जितनी खुशी उससे हुई उतनी और किसी बात से नहीं हुई। वह आज़ादी के सिपाही हैं--सिपाही की हैसियत से उनका फर्ज़ है, उनकी ज़िम्मेवारी है। और अगर आज हम किसी कदर अभिमान के साथ पूर्ण आज़ादी की ओर देख रहे हैं, और हमें उम्मीद है, कि मुल्क जल्द आज़ाद होगा तो वह सिर्फ़ इस वजह से कि हमारा मुल्क आज़ाद होगा। यह आज़ादी हमें उसी वक्त मिलेगी जब हम इस कपड़े में (वालंटियरों के कपड़े में) आयेंगे।

(जय ध्वनि)

मैं खास तौर पर लड़कियों का शुक्रिया अदा करूँगा जैसा श्रीमती सरोजनीनायडू ने किया है। उन्होंने कितना काम किया, वह कौन हैं, यह सुन कर आप को खुशी होगी। अगर सभ्यता का कोई इम्तिहान करना चाहे, कि किसी मुल्क की क्या तरक्की है तो देखा जाता है कि उस मुल्क की औरतें कौन हैं? अगर मुल्क की औरतें गिरी हुई हैं तो साफ़ है मुल्क गिरा हुआ है—अगर मुल्क की औरतें ऊँची हैं तो मुल्क उठा हुआ है। जब मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारी लड़कियें किस तरह ज़िम्मेदारी का काम करती हैं। उन की रक्षा के लिये सिपाहियों की ज़रूरत नहीं। तो मुझे बड़ी खुशी होती है। मैं बच्चियों को, लड़कियों को, वालंटियरों के रूप में देख कर बड़ा खुश हुआ। मैं उनके कैप्टिन श्रीमती लज्जावती देवी का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। मैं आपका भी शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ; जय २ घोष से कार्यवाही समाप्त हुई।

वन्दे मातरम्